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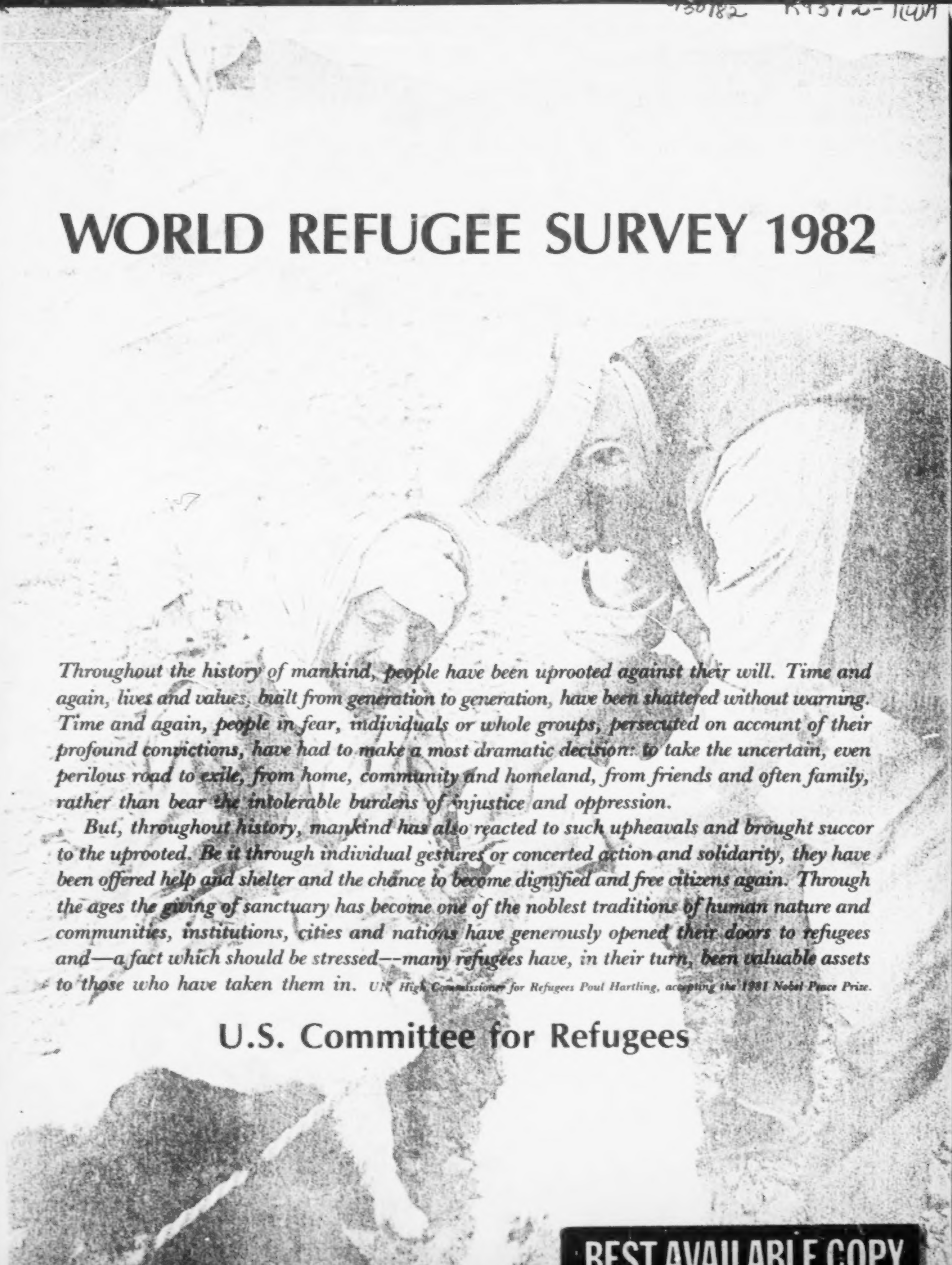

WORLD REFUGEE SURVEY 1982

Throughout the history of mankind, people have been uprooted against their will. Time and again, lives and values, built from generation to generation, have been shattered without warning. Time and again, people in fear, individuals or whole groups, persecuted on account of their profound convictions, have had to make a most dramatic decision: to take the uncertain, even perilous road to exile, from home, community and homeland, from friends and often family, rather than bear the intolerable burdens of injustice and oppression.

But, throughout history, mankind has also reacted to such upheavals and brought succor to the uprooted. Be it through individual gestures or concerted action and solidarity, they have been offered help and shelter and the chance to become dignified and free citizens again. Through the ages the giving of sanctuary has become one of the noblest traditions of human nature and communities, institutions, cities and nations have generously opened their doors to refugees and—a fact which should be stressed—many refugees have, in their turn, been valuable assets to those who have taken them in. *UN High Commissioner for Refugees Poul Hartling, accepting the 1981 Nobel Peace Prize.*

U.S. Committee for Refugees

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U.S. Committee for Refugees

A Program of the American Council for Nationalities Service

On January 1, 1982, the U.S. Committee for Refugees and the American Council for Nationalities Service were formally merged under the laws of the state of New York. The continuing nonprofit corporation is ACNS; however, the distinctive USCR name and program of public information and advocacy regarding the world's refugees will continue.

The boards and staffs of both ACNS and USCR have been concerned for some time about the insensitivity that is spreading through much of the American public regarding refugees around the world. The mutual decision to redouble efforts to overcome this unfortunate development and to use judiciously the limited resources available were the basis for the merger of the two agencies.

In the next year, USCR's public information and advocacy activity will significantly increase. As has been the case since its inception 24 years ago, USCR will continue to depend on the financial support of private citizens. This support ultimately determines the limit of our efforts to work with others in search of temporary and permanent solutions to refugee emergencies around the world.

The USCR program approaches the anniversary of its first quarter-century of service with the fundamental belief that the American people will continue to play a major role in assisting the world's refugees. This will require, however, understanding of the real issues. Fostering that understanding is the USCR mission.

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World Refugee Survey 1982

Page **Contents**

4 Who is a Refugee?
Roger P. Winter

Refugee Review

6 Refugees in Africa: The Continuing Challenge
Joseph C. Kennedy

9 **East Africa**

11 **Southern Africa**

12 **Other Africa**

14 Pakistan: Country of First Asylumn
H. Eugene Douglas

17 **Middle East**

20 Politics and Policies of "First Asylum" in Thailand
Robert P. DeVecchi

25 **Asia and the Pacific**

29 Haiti and El Salvador Pose Large Questions
Nina K. Solarz

33 **Latin America and the Caribbean**

35 Europe — An Anxious Year
Mary C. Spillane

37 **Europe and North America**

40 1982 World Statistics
The World's Refugees
Internally Displaced
Durable Solutions

Helping Refugees

42 Seeking Permanent Solutions for Refugees
Dennis Gallagher and Gary Rubin

45 Protecting the World's Refugees
Poul Hartling

47 International Organizations Continue to Aid Refugees

11 Which Countries Help?

The U.S. and Refugees

48 Managing Domestic Resettlement in the U.S.
Charles Royer and Jesse Bunch

51 Ahead for the U.S.—The Asylum Debate
Joseph Cerquone

54 Mass Asylum: The USCR Position

58 Directory of Organizations

61 For Further Information

On the Cover:
UNHCR provides nomadic Afghan refugees with medicines and mobile veterinary clinics to enable them to vaccinate their flocks.

Who is a Refugee?

Roger P. Winter

One modern dictionary defines "refugee" as a "person who flees to find refuge; especially one who escapes invasion, oppression, or persecution." Colloquially the term is often used interchangeably with "migrant," "immigrant," "asylum seeker" or even "illegal alien." There are many characteristics that refugees share with other migrating people, but there are also important distinctions recognized by international law. Because people's lives and futures are frequently at stake in refugee emergencies, it is important that it be clear who is a refugee and who is not. With this knowledge and understanding, appropriate responses to the world's refugee situations can be formulated.

The meaning of the term refugee evolved over a 60-year period from specific to generic. Until 1951 most nations considered refugees in terms of a specified group of people fleeing a specific country or group of countries for reasons of belief or status. In 1951 the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees was adopted by a conference of plenipotentiaries of the United Nations. On April 21, 1954, the convention was adopted by the required minimum of six nations and went into effect.

The convention provided the first international "bill of rights" for refugees. It provided for travel documents for refugees; set forth the principle of non-refoulement, which states that a refugee cannot be returned by force to the country from which he fled; and stated that refugees are entitled to the same basic human rights enjoyed by nationals of the asylum country. The definition of refugee put forth by the convention is:

> *". . . a person who as a result of events occurring before January 1, 1951, and owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country. . ."*

The four key elements of the convention's definition were its time limitation—refugees, it implies, were generated by the effects of World War II; its fundamental reliance on the concept of a "well-founded fear of being persecuted;" its specification of forms of persecution which could qualify one for refugee status; and its limitation to persons outside their country of nationality.

Over time the international community grew to recognize that protection for individuals other than those covered by the convention's time period was a necessity. As a result, the General Assembly produced the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees which became effective on October 4, 1956. States which bind themselves to the protocol fundamentally agree that the substantive provisions of the convention will be applied generically to refugees without reference to the 1951 date, although individuals declared to be refugees under prior international agreements would be blanketed in. International protection of and assistance to refugees, and administration of the convention and protocol were assigned by the satute to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. (Parties which have acceded to the convention or protocol are listed on the next page.)

A Vietnamese refugee is rescued in the South China Sea. U.S. Navy.

The U.S. did not statutorily adopt the UN definition of refugee until enactment of the Refugee Act of 1980 (Public Law 96-212). Prior to that act, the U.S. defined refugees in ad hoc legislative enactments, exclusively in an anti-communist context. As enacted, the act went further than the protocol to include as a refugee "any person who is within the country of such person's nationality. . .who is persecuted or has a well-founded fear of persecution. . ." under special conditions.

Recognition of a person's status as a refugee does not make him one, but declares him to be one.

The determination of refugee status is normally the responsibility of the nation in whose territory the individual is located at the time he applies for recognition of his status. Recognition of a person's status as a refugee does not make him a refugee, but declares him to be one. However, until recognized as a refugee, a person is not normally included in refugee statistics nor does he receive UNHCR assistance. In a nation which has not acceded to the convention or protocol, a person can be determined by UNHCR to be a refugee and receive its protection. Thus, even among competent authorities, there can be differences in whether or not a particular individual is considered a refugee.

There are persons in the world who are refugees who have not been formally declared such for one reason or another, and there are persons who are in refugee-like situations who technically do not meet the protocol's definition strictly applied. One major reason for this phenomenon is that such refugee-

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like persons are often still within the borders of their homeland. Those individuals are often labeled "internally displaced" persons. It should be noted, however, that since no single international authority has responsibility for such persons, authoritative figures on the internally displaced are difficult to gather and frequently are imprecise.

• • •

In a personal rather than legal sense, refugees are ordinary people in extraordinary circumstances. Refugees, like other migrating people, generally want to better their lives and the lives of their families. They sometimes immigrate to an industrialized society such as the U.S. or Western Europe. They frequently are poor, not because they had no resources but because they lost their belongings when they fled their homeland. Refugees often have experienced the loss of or separation from members of their families as a result of their flight. All have lost their homeland and are removed from the centers of their cultures and traditions. Their disaster is not natural; it is man-made.

Refugees are ordinary people in extraordinary circumstances.

What most clearly distinguishes a refugee from other migrants is specified in international and U.S. law: their motive for departure is fear of specific forms of persecution. For members of the Baha'i faith fleeing Iran, for example, it is fear of that nation's organized attempt to exterminate members of that religious group. For many Poles, it is fear of the Polish government's program of erasing political opposition. For the Hmong of northern Laos, it is fear of a regime's efforts to eliminate a group previously associated with the U.S. involvement in that nation. For Ethiopians, it is fear of the government's actions to destroy Ethiopia's middle class and the remaining political opposition. For Afghans, it is fear of the Soviet-dominated government's war on Afghanistan's own people for political and religious reasons.

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Throughout this year's *World Refugee Survey*, a theme recurs that represents a pressing concern of the international community. It is that efforts by nations offering immediate asylum to people fleeing persecution are both most compassionate and complex. "First asylum" countries, like Pakistan, Thailand, and numerous African nations, offer "temporary" haven which may extend for months and years. Implications of such assistance for the receiving countries, potential resettlement countries, and the world community are far reaching, especially when the numbers seeking asylum are not few but massive, as has often been the case recently. The part played by first asylum countries must be appreciated. The capability and willingness of other nations to serve in this all-too-necessary role need also to be examined.

The rescue and protection of refugees is in some ways an ideological effort—not in the sense of East versus West, but in a context of protecting human rights and fostering individual freedom. And that is why Americans, who above all other peoples claim to value these principles, cannot afford to consider all foreigners in a single category.

The U.S. Committee for Refugees considers it in this nation's best interest and traditions to assist with refugee relief and protection around the world. And, for that fraction of the world's refugees who have no viable alternative but to seek resettlement in a country such as ours, it is in our interest to continue to admit our fair share. Of all the people who want or need to start life anew in a free society, the needs and claims of refugees are unique. ☐

Refugees have lost their belongings and their homeland. UNRWA.

Signatories to the UN Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees

Algeria, Angola,* Argentina, Australia, Austria, Belgium, Benin, Bolivia,* Botswana, Brazil, Burundi, Canada, Central African Republic, Chad,* Chile, Colombia, Congo, Costa Rica, Cyprus, Denmark, Djibouti, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt,* Ethiopia, Fiji, Finland, France, Gabon, Gambia, Germany (Federal Republic of), Ghana, Greece, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Holy See, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Japan,* Kenya,** Lesotho,* Liberia, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Mali, Malta, Morocco, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Niger, Nigeria, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Philippines,* Portugal, Rwanda, Sao Tome and Principie, Senegal, Seychelles, Sierra Leone,* Somalia, Spain, Sudan, Surinam, Sweden, Switzerland, Togo, Tunisia, Turkey, Uganda, United Kingdom, United Republic of Cameroon, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Uruguay, Yemen, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia, Zimbabwe.*

Signatories to the Convention Only: Madagascar, Monaco, Peru.

Signatories to the Protocol Only: Swaziland, United States.

*Became signatory to convention and protocol after January 1, 1981.

**Became signatory to protocol after January 1, 1981.

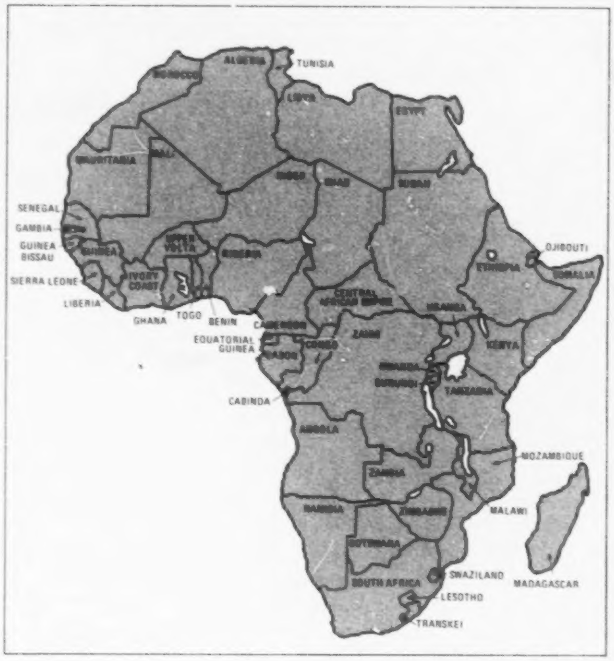
Refugees in Africa: The Continuing Challenge

Joseph C. Kennedy

On the African continent today, from the Horn in the northeast, to the tip in the south, across to the Western Sahara, there are more than 2.5 million refugees. Tens of thousands more, perhaps even millions are displaced in their own countries, though an accurate count is impossible.

Reflecting the complexities of African political, economic, and ethnic structures, as well as the legacy of colonialism which indiscriminately established territorial boundaries that often cut across ethnic groups and even families, the pattern of countries from which refugees flee and where they seek haven is bewildering. There are refugees in Zaire from Angola and refugees in Angola from Zaire; in Burundi from Rwanda and in Rwanda from Burundi. There are refugees in Uganda from other countries and refugees from Uganda in other countries, and so on. (The notable exceptions to this kind of interchange of refugees are Namibia, South Africa, and Chad. Conflicts in these countries have caused people to flee but few have sought haven in those countries.)

The refugees in Africa are not special people who have been uprooted. They are special because they have been uprooted.



The winds of change which swept across Africa in the late 1950s and 1960s, totally altering the face of the continent, also produced the first waves of refugees fleeing from the wars of liberation—first in Algeria in 1957, later in Guinea Bissau, Angola, and Mozambique. In 1967 there were approximately 750,000 refugees on the continent. Within the next ten years, however, as the liberation struggles were prolonged and expanded into Zimbabwe, as liberation struggles and independence gave way to internal ethnic conflicts and oppressive dictatorial regimes in various parts of Africa, as civil war broke out in Chad, and as racist restrictive policies enlarged in Namibia and South Africa, the number of refugees and displaced persons reached over 3.5 million. The continuing civil war in Chad and the territorial dispute and fighting in the Ogaden between Ethiopia and Somalia, coupled with the natural disasters of drought in the area, produced the final explosion, which in 1981 resulted in a total of nearly 6.5 million refugees and displaced persons.

Today, although refugees are scattered over dozens of countries in Africa, the majority are found in ten countries: approximately 700,000 in Somalia; 400,000 or more in both Sudan and Zaire; more than 100,000 in Tanzania, Uganda, and Nigeria respectively; between 50,000 and 75,000 in Angola, Burundi, and Algeria and about 20,000 in Cameroon. Major trouble spots continue to be the Ethiopia/Somalia conflict, Chad, Namibia, and South Africa.

• • •

Several generalizations can be made about the refugees themselves. These generalizations have direct bearing on short-term and long-term solutions to the problems. First of all, the refugees in Africa are not special people who have been uprooted. They are special because they have been uprooted. While they come from different backgrounds and ethnic groups, they are fairly typical of the African population as a whole. They are from rural areas—subsistence farmers and nomadic livestock herders. They are uneducated—generally unskilled and poor. There are more women and children than men. Fewer are schoolboys and girls, professionals, and urban dwellers. What sets them apart is that they have been separated from their families and generally have lost whatever they possessed. Solutions to their problems must revolve around both their needs as uprooted and their needs as typical African people.

There is one group of refugees which is not rural and which often is overlooked. These are the schoolboys and girls, the skilled and professional, and the urban dwellers. There are at least 40,000 who fall in this category. Many are students fleeing from racial oppression in South Africa and Namibia. Others have come from Ethiopia, Chad, and Rwanda. They are looking for school placements, scholarships, and jobs. Most of the students are in school in major towns in Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Angola, Zambia, Egypt, and Kenya. Some have gone to West Africa (Ghana, Nigeria, Liberia, Ivory Coast), or to North Africa. Since 1976 U.S. government pro-

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grams have provided scholarships for about 800 of these student refugees. Those who suffer especially are the educated professionals and the skilled who cannot find work in Djibouti, Kenya, or Egypt, and become truly homeless.

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At least three generalizations can be made about the countries from which the refugees flee and in which they seek haven. The refugees flee from poor countries and seek haven in countries which are just as poor—or poorer. While Africa is the richest continent in the world with 95 percent of the world's diamonds, 87 percent of the cobalt, 65 percent of the world's gold, and other precious resources, it has some of the poorest people in the world. Of the 36 poorest nations in the world, 24 are in Africa. Five of the countries which are providing haven for refugees have per capita incomes of less than $300. Somalia with the largest single concentration of refugees has a per capita income of $110 while the others are not much better off: Burundi ($180), Zaire ($260), Tanzania ($270), and Uganda with per capita income of $290. Only three countries with sizeable numbers of refugees—Algeria, Nigeria, and Cameroon—have per capita incomes above $500.

The countries to which the refugees flee are already locked in the desperate struggle to survive—to grow enough food, to have safe water, to meet basic human needs. Adding to their difficulties, these countries are in drought-prone areas. In fact, during 1980 the worst drought in 30 years struck across East Africa from Djibouti to Somalia to Ethiopia to southern Sudan and to northern Kenya and Uganda—countries where the bulk of refugees are found. Ironically, the following year Somalia and other areas were hit by heavy rains which caused flooding.

In the best of times, even with outside assistance, these countries have not been able to adequately meet the basic needs of their people and must import food, for example. The coming of the refugees places additional strains on already fragile economic and social systems.

• • •

Yet in spite of the harshness of their own situations, in the African tradition of the extended family concept where distant relatives and even strangers are taken and welcomed, these extremely poor countries have opened their borders and their homes to the refugees. In some respects this spirit of acceptance and hospitality has worked to the detriment of these African countries. Because borders have not been closed and refugees have not had to wander from place to place looking for a haven, they have come in silence with little publicity. The host countries carry the burden until, seemingly overnight, they are overwhelmed.

This was the case in Somalia. In 1978 only 20,000 refugees were recorded as being in Somalia. Yet a year later when the Somali government declared a state of emergency and issued a worldwide appeal for assistance, the reported number had swelled to 600,000 refugees in camps alone. Only then did the international community begin to provide assistance: governments, international organizations, and more than 50 private voluntary organizations became involved.

There is a final generalization which can be made about refugees in Africa. Few of them will be resettled outside the continent of Africa, unlike the refugees from Southeast Asia and other places. It has been said that African refugees do not want to settle outside the African continent. Certainly with their rural backgrounds, and lack of education, there would be difficulties in placing them in Europe, the U.S., Canada, or elsewhere. Whether policies flow from this belief or vice versa, the fact is that only 2,236 African refugees were resettled in the U.S. in 1980-81 (compared with about 130,000 Southeast Asian refugees); the FY 82 ceiling for entry of African refugees into the U.S. is 3,500.

Efforts to repatriate refugees to Chad are largely completed now. UNHCR.

• • •

Given the rural background of the majority of African refugees, the level of development of the countries providing haven, and the fact that African refugees will be settled in Africa, it becomes obvious that solutions to the problems must be African solutions. It is just as obvious that solutions must also involve continued long-term support from the international community.

It is recognized that the most desirable solution to the refugee situation is voluntary repatriation. The most remarkable recent example of this application has been in Zimbabwe. With independence in 1980, 250,000 refugees who had fled from the prolonged war returned from Botswana, Mozambique, and Zambia leaving those countries almost without refugees for the first time in many years. Another 600,000 or more persons who had moved to urban areas or had been placed in "protected villages" were also moved back to their home areas.

In Somalia, the number of refugees in camps has dropped from a reported 1.2 million to 700,000 over the past year and a half. Some of the refugees have begun to return to the Ogaden as the fighting has diminished, while others have left camps to move in with relatives who had already integrated themselves into the countryside. With the peace-keeping force of the Organization of American Unity in Chad, efforts are now underway to repatriate the several hundred thousand Chadians who are in Nigeria, Cameroon, Sudan, and the Central African Republic.

While voluntary repatriation is the most desirable course, the history of countries such as Tanzania, Sudan, Zaire, Zambia, and other nations suggests that, for whatever reasons, many refugees will not go back home. As far back as 1961, Tanzania, and Sudan a few years later began to establish rural settlements for refugees, as opposed to housing them in camps. In many instances refugees spontaneously settled and later were assisted. Over the years many refugees returned to their original homes or to third countries, but many remained. Today there are as many as 19 organized settlements in Sudan, 13 in Tanzania, with lesser numbers in Uganda and Zaire, Angola, Burundi, Zambia, and other countries in eastern and southern Africa.

> *History suggests that, for whatever reasons, many refugees will not go back home.*

With variations, the establishment of these organized settlements has followed the same general pattern as that taken in setting up Meheba in Zambia or Ulyankulu in Tanzania. In 1971 to provide support to the refugees coming from Angola, Namibia, and Zaire, the government of Zambia set aside 58,000 hectares of land in the northwestern province of the country. On arrival each refugee family was given five hectares of land. They were to build their own home. They were provided supplies and equipment—seeds, fertilizers, tools, farm equipment—and access to the services of agricultural extension agents. They were supplied with foodstuffs until they began to harvest their own. With assistance from the UNHCR, the Zambia Christian Refugee Service (Lutheran World Federation), the World Food Program, Africare, and the Zambia Refugee Commission, roads were built, wells dug, health clinics and two primary schools built and staffed. Students who completed the settlement primary schools were admitted to the regular Zambian secondary schools. As the settler families began to achieve self-sufficiency in food production and expand into cash crop production, the final step, taken in 1980, was to organize the settlement into seven village units, each with its own leadership. During the year 1982, all foreign external assistance to this settlement will end and Meheba will have become totally integrated into the economic and social structure of Zambia. Over the life period of this settlement, which provided support to 14,000 to 20,000 people, only a few thousand refugees/settlers returned to their original homes.

Another extremely successful settlement establishment has been that of Ulyankulu in Tanzania. This settlement was set up in 1972 in response to the great influx of refugees from Burundi. The government set aside 100,000 hectares of land for what was expected to be about 25,000 refugees. Within one year the settlement population had grown to 37,000 and by 1976 had reached 57,000. Because a population of this size was overburdening the resources, in 1978–1979 half the population was moved to a new settlement. Community services such as roads, schools, irrigation systems, wells, community centers, and dispensaries have been built. Village development committees have been established in each village. It was estimated that sales from maize, cassava, sorghum, tobacco, and bricks would earn the settlement about $1,000,000 a year starting in 1980. This settlement was supported by UNHCR and the Lutheran World Federation/Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service, along with the Tanzania government.

• • •

There is a lesson to be learned from the establishment of these rural settlements which has direct applicability to the present refugee situation in Africa. The key to their success has been, first of all, the availability of suitable farm land. Of equal or perhaps greater significance has been the attitude and approach of the host governments and funding agencies. The objective has been immediately to provide the refugees with improved agricultural or other skills which would better their chances of improving their lives, wherever they are. This determination has been made without regard for whether they would remain in the settlements or return home.

Whether refugees in Africa are repatriated or remain in their new homelands, they will still end up in rural areas where chances for a better life, or sometimes even survival, will depend upon their ability to become more self-sufficient in food production and other areas. Certainly when they first arrive, especially where there has been no early warning which might allow for better planning, great effort must be to respond to the emergency, life-support needs of food, clothing, shelter, medicines, and water. If the African refugees are to have a real opportunity to put their lives back together again, however, the time between dealing with emergency needs and self-sufficiency needs must be shortened. The often rigid distinctions which are made between funding for refugee assistance and funding for development assistance must be changed, and international agencies and private voluntary organizations must better understand their strengths and weaknesses in both areas and make their contribution accordingly.

> *If the African refugees are to have a real opportunity to put their lives back together again, the time between dealing with emergency needs and self-sufficiency needs must be shortened.*

• • •

Given the problems facing Africa today, the number of refugees likely to remain at a high level, and unless peaceful resolutions are found to the social, economic, and racial oppression which exists in Namibia and South Africa, even greater waves of refugees are likely. Unless the time between emergency assistance and development assistance is shortened, unless the moment is seized quickly to impart improved and new skills to enhance the refugees' self-sufficiency, even in the midst of the emergency, their sojourn as refugees may be only an extremely painful interlude in a continuing painful struggle to survive. ☐

AFRICA

East Africa

Djibouti

(500,000; size of Massachusetts)
UNHCR 1981: $6.4 million

Djibouti, at the entrance to the Red Sea, is a former French colony. Aid from France helps it contend with high unemployment. The refugee population in 1981 was 30,000, down from the 42,000 count a year earlier. Some are Somalis from the Ogaden; others are from Eritrea.

More than 700,000 Ethiopians have become refugees in Somalia. UNHCR.

Ethiopia

(33.5 million; 4/5th of Alaska)
UNHCR 1981: $660,000

War, drought, civil strife, and oppression have driven more than one million people out of Ethiopia during the past six years.

About 300,000 from Eritrea, in the north, have crossed into Sudan, mostly since 1978, after the central government troops drove the Eritrean liberation forces from towns and cities into the countryside.

Since 1979 more than 600,000 have become refugees in Somalia. In Djibouti there are an estimated 30,000 Ethiopians, most of whom arrived since the war between Ethiopia and Somalia.

Tens of thousands have fled for political reasons since the revolution which overthrew Haile Selassie in 1974. Many came to the U.S., on student or tourist visas, and remained. In November 1981, the State Department said most Ethiopians had no reason to fear returning and immigration authorities ordered those not here legally to leave the U.S. As the national government is encouraging repatriation and the drought is easing, some Ethiopians may return.

According to the U.S. coordinator the risk that a returnee might be persecuted for political reasons is less than during the height of instability in the late 1970s. But, the coordinator adds, many Ethiopians still have good grounds to fear such persecution, and some number have remained "underground" in the U.S.

UNHCR reports the refugee population in Ethiopia is 11,000, virtually all from Sudan and the North-South civil war of 1955-72.

The war over the Ogaden and the long drought forced hundreds of thousands of nomads and peasant farmers to move to temporary shelters in Ethiopia's southern provinces. The government has begun a project to settle these displaced people in the highlands of Bale province where a cooler climate and better rainfall will make it possible to start new lives.

Much of Ethiopia, however, remained in the grip of drought. The 1981 crop was poor because of drought and pest attacks. Eritrea has been devastated by protracted fighting and secessionist groups are also active among the Oromo and Tigreans.

A UN task force has surveyed needs of the country and declared 1.5 million people require assistance, the UN disaster relief coordinator reported in November 1981. The UN will give a priority to food aid. In the Ogaden, UNHCR will provide $14 million to aid rehabilitation of 250,000 returnees from Somalia.

Kenya

(16.5 million; slightly smaller than Texas)
UNHCR 1981: $2.5 million

Since achieving independence in 1963, Kenya has provided asylum to refugees from different parts of the continent. During the rule of Ugandan President Idi Amin, from 1971 to 1979, the majority were Ugandans. A few thousand remain because they fear to return to Uganda, but most are not registered as refugees and receive no assistance.

On June 30, 1981, UNHCR reported 3,900 refugees, from Ethiopia, Uganda, and Rwanda. Many of the refugees are young people who constitute a burden on schools, especially in Nairobi and Mombasa.

Somalia

(3.8 million; size of Texas)
UNHCR 1981: $46 million

Somalia has the most serious refugee problem in Africa, in terms of numbers and difficulty. The reported total declined from 1980 because of more accurate counting and because some refugees returned to their nomadic lives as herders in the Ogaden region of Ethiopia.

At the end of 1981, the total of refugees in Somalia was approximately 700,000.

Somalia has been at odds with Ethiopia for decades over the Ogaden, a vast dry region in eastern Ethiopia. For centuries it has been a grazing ground for cattle of Somali-speaking nomads. Somalia has made "self-determination" of the Ogaden a cause for all Somali tribes, and in 1977-8 Somali troops waged all-out war. Helped by Soviet bloc allies, Ethiopia drove the Somalis back. In 1978 Somali government forces officially withdrew, but "liberation front" guerrillas continued fighting.

The fighting, with destruction of villages, and the longest drought in 30 years, caused hundreds of thousands of Somalis to flee across the border. For a time their fellow Somalis helped them without aid from outside. In 1978 an international effort was launched.

In 1980 UNHCR spent $60 million for care of the refugees, and the UN World Food Program coordinated $90 million worth of food aid. The UNHCR budget for 1981 was $46 million.

The influx of refugees gives the country one of the biggest concentrations in the world—one refugee for every five Somali. Most of them are women, children or old men.

The refugees are located in camps throughout the arid country; a large number also live with fellow Somalis who have taken them in. The influx of so many in desperate straits has had serious consequences for the environment. Trees and shrubs have been consumed for huts and firewood. The water table dropped as holes were dug in dry river beds to reach what little water there was.

Finally, in spring 1981 the rains came. . . and the problem abruptly became flood, not drought. UNHCR and other agencies loaded boats on airplanes and won a desperate race to keep refugees from starving.

A complex of UN and voluntary agencies is on the scene, helping with road building, water supply, agricultural development, and the environment, as well as daily food and health care for this huge population.

Sudan

(18 million; over 1/4th size of U.S.)
UNHCR 1981: $24 milllion

The Sudan is Africa's largest country and also the tenth largest country in the world, with an area of 970,000 square miles. It is one of the least developed countries and its problems are compounded by 500,000 refugees, causing strain on government services.

Refugees first started arriving in Sudan in 1965. The majority are from Eritrea and other parts of Ethiopia, and are concentrated in the east of the country. In the south the inflow from Uganda continues, and the number now totals 90,000. Also in the south are 5,000 refugees from Zaire. In the extreme west are 10,000 from Chad.

Refugees receive kitchen utensils and agricultural tools from UNHCR in Sudan. UNHCR.

The Sudanese government has responded vigorously to the crisis, and its efforts have drawn praise from UN refugee agency leaders. Refugees are being relocated in organized rural settlements, with the expectation that many will stay there permanently. Agricultural and other self-help projects are designed to help them become self-sufficient.

In all, UNHCR is assisting 53 settlement projects. The refugee agency will spend $21 million in 1982 on new and ongoing settlements. Among the needs are: agriculture feasibility studies, clearance of large tracts of land, and construction of irrigation and road systems, and community facilities.

UNHCR runs its largest education program in the Sudan ($2.7 million in 1982). Scholarships are provided to 1,600 refugees for post-primary studies. New schools will cost $1 million.

The government has what is termed a "model refugee law," having acceded to the 1951 UN Convention on the Status of Refugees and adopted the 1967 protocol and 1969 OAU convention governing refugee rights.

So far only a limited number of refugees have been repatriated to Chad, Uganda, Zaire, or Ethiopia. Resettlement opportunities helped 1,000—mostly Ethiopians—leave Sudan in 1981.

Uganda

(14.1 million; size of Oregon)
UNHCR 1981: $2.8 million

Most of the 113,000 refugees in Uganda have been there since the early 1960s. The totals are: Rwandans 80,000, Zairians 32,000, and Ethiopians 1,000. They are integrated into the economy of settlement areas and receive UNHCR assistance.

The country has endured a decade of unstable government, fear of violence, destruction, and drought. In December 1980 former President Obote returned to office, after the overthrow of Idi Amin in 1979, and new tensions developed between his tribe and others.

In 1980 fighting erupted in the West Nile district between government forces and guerrillas, involving warring tribes. There and elsewhere the situation is unstable, but it improved enough in 1981 to allow reconstruction activity. According to the U.S. Coordinator 80-100,000 Ugandans are estimated to be in northeastern Zaire and another 90,000 are estimated to have taken refuge in southern Sudan.

In the Karamoja region of the east, 250,000 tribal people are dependent on international food aid, following drought and loss of cattle to raiders. Thousands of Karamojong people starved to death before aid reached them.

Southern Africa

Angola

(6.7 million; larger than Texas and California)
UNHCR 1981: $5.4 million

Since winning independence from Portugal in 1975, Angola has been beset by civil war, foreign forces fighting, drought in many areas, and a deteriorating economy.

Two guerrilla movements fight the governing MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), which is supported by Cuban troops.

In southern Angola, forces of the Republic of South Africa based in Namibia carry out ground and air raids against guerrillas from SWAPO (South West Africa People's Organization), which conducts its own campaigns in the other direction.

Over the years, the civil conflicts have caused thousands to flee. Of an estimated 400,000 who have gone to other countries, the government says 180,000 have returned. Governments of Angola and neighboring Zaire continue to encourage repatriation, but many Angolans in Zaire are reluctant to leave because living conditions are better there.

Angola itself has 73,000 refugees, including 18,000 from Zaire. There are also 50,000 Namibians and 5,000 from South Africa, many of whom are part of the SWAPO fighting forces.

In response to an appeal from Angola, the UN disaster relief coordinator is administering aid for an estimated 661,000 people displaced by fighting and drought in the southern section of the country.

Botswana

(800,000; size of Texas)
UNHCR 1981: $862,000

The refugee population in Botswana now consists chiefly of South Africans. The thousands who entered Botswana from Zimbabwe during the war for independence have returned home.

Burundi

(4.2 million; size of Maryland)
UNHCR 1981: $1.9 million

Burundi and neighbor Rwanda, former mandates of Belgium, became independent in 1962. Small, landlocked, with few resources, Burundi has a population density among the highest in Africa. For centuries the minority Tutsi (15 percent), who are herders, have dominated the majority Hutu (84 percent), who are mostly farmers.

Following independence the Hutus tried to increase their power. After a Hutu coup failed in 1972, the Tutsi-dominated government reacted violently: an estimated 100-150,000 Hutus lost their lives. Over 150,000 fled to neighboring countries, mostly to Tanzania.

In 1976 the government began a series of reforms and called on Hutu refugees to return home. Some have, but probably far fewer than the 100,000 claimed by the government.

Most of the refugees who have sought asylum in Burundi came from Rwanda, where Hutus took over the government in 1959. The power of Rwandan Tutsis declined; thousands were killed, and by 1964 an estimated 50,000 Rwandan Tutsis had fled to Tutsi-ruled Burundi.

Most of the Tutsis are well integrated in Burundi, though few have become citizens. Refugees from Zaire, fewer in number, have not integrated as well.

UNHCR is financing a hospital to serve refugees.

Lesotho

(1.4 million; slightly larger than Maryland)
UNHCR 1981: $1.7 million

Completely surrounded by the Republic of South Africa, tiny Lesotho reports 11,000 refugees. Most are students and the U.S. Coordinator notes, "They might more accurately be described as 'educational migrants' from South Africa." UNHCR reports 1,000 registered for assistance.

Mozambique

(10.7 million; larger than Texas)
UNHCR 1981: $306 thousand

Mozambique was country of asylum for an estimated 150,000 refugees from the fighting in Zimbabwe, at the peak population in 1979. With conclusion of peace there, these refugees returned home. In 1981 fewer than 100 refugees were registered with UNHCR.

Namibia

(1 million; twice the size of California)

The Republic of South Africa continues to administer and apply most of its own laws to the territory of Southwest Africa, also known as Namibia. In 1970 the UN Security Council condemned South Africa for illegal control of the area, which had been a UN trust territory. For many years South Africa and SWAPO (Southwest African People's Organization) have been fighting a guerrilla war over independence and self-rule for Namibia. International efforts to resolve the future status of the country continue.

In the course of the struggle, South Africa displaced thousands of Namibians to create a security zone along the 1,000-mile border with Angola. Some of these people, and others subject to conscription in South Africa, have fled to Angola and other countries, many to join the SWAPO forces.

Rwanda

(5.3 million; size of Maryland)
UNHCR 1981: $366,000

Members of the Hutu ethnic group are now in control, and the situation between Hutu and Tutsi tribes is relatively stable.

During the strife of the mid-1960s and early 1970s, some Hutus from Burundi fled into Rwanda, though most went to Tanzania. The government reports 10,300 Hutus from Burundi have settled in Rwanda. They have most of the rights of the Rwandans, except citizenship.

South Africa

(29 million; 4/5ths the size of Alaska)

Laws in the Republic of South Africa ban existence of certain Black political organizations, with severe penalties for membership. Numbers have fled to undertake the fight for majority rule from abroad. One estimate is that 10,000 Blacks left the country between 1976 and 1979. Countries of first asylum are usually Botswana, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, or Lesotho. UNHCR assistance, mainly in the form of aid to students, is given in countries of asylum.

Swaziland

(600,000; slightly smaller than New Jersey)

UNHCR 1981: $2.3 million

Swaziland is enclosed by South Africa except for its short border with Mozambique. Though it has only 6,000 refugees, the number is a strain because of the country's small size and limited resources. The majority come from South Africa. According to Swaziland policy, refugees with ties to liberation groups are allowed transit to third countries but normally are not permitted to remain.

Tanzania

(19.2 million; twice the size of California)

UNHCR 1981: $6.3 million

A major event for UNHCR in 1980 was the mass naturalization of 26,000 refugees from Rwanda as citizens of the United Republic of Tanzania. They live in agricultural settlements built with aid from UNHCR and many other agencies. The naturalization was a vivid demonstration of settlement in place, as a permanent solution for a group of refugees.

Combined with the repatriation of 500 Ugandans and 350 Zimbabweans, the naturalization decreased Tanzania's total of refugees.

However, unexpected discoveries of refugees in 1981 raised the total by an equivalent amount, back to 156,000. A group of 22,500 previously unregistered Burundians had spontaneously settled in a part of Tanzania, as had 4,000 from Zaire, on the shores of Lake Tanganyika.

Zaire

(30.1 million; 1/4th the size of the 48 states)

UNHCR 1981: $16 million

"Over the years Zaire has generated over 200,000 refugees and provided asylum and resettlement for over 500,000 refugees from neighboring countries," notes the U.S. Coordinator's report.

After a 1964 uprising in the north and east, thousands fled to Sudan; an estimated 8-10,000 remain there. Former rebels from Katanga province in the 1960s remain in Angola and Zambia. In 1977 and 1978 these refugees joined others in unsuccessful invasion attempts to bring down the regime of President Mobutu.

Mobutu declared amnesty for political refugees in 1978 and about 90,000 returned from Angola, Zambia, Sudan and Tanzania. More than 150,000 ex-Katangans have returned from Angola.

All refugees in Zaire from other countries are considered to be permanently resettled until they choose to return to their homeland. The estimated number in Zaire is 350-400,000, including 215,000 Angolans; 80-100,000 Ugandians; 11,000 Burundians; 22,000 Rwandans; and 1,200 Zambians. Many are "well established," according to the U.S. coordinator.

Refugees at the border town of Kaya, Sudan, line up for registration. UNHCR.

Zambia

(6 million; size of Texas)

UNHCR 1981: $2.3 million

Over the last 18 years, Zambia has provided refuge to people from Angola, Malawi, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, Zaire, and Zimbabwe. The peak population was 80,000 in 1978.

At present, there are four categories: fewer than 1,000 urban refugees to be resettled elsewhere; 13,000 refugees from Angola and Zaire who have lived in agricultural settlements for more than ten years; 22,000 Angolans and Zairians who have settled near the borders; and a growing number—about 6,000—of South Africans and Namibians who are part of national independence movements.

Formerly Northern Rhodesia, Zambia became independent in 1964.

Zimbabwe

(7.6 million; nearly size of California)

UNHCR 1981: $7.5 million

The repatriation of 250,000 Zimbabweans who fled during the 1972-9 civil was has been completed, as well as resettlement of an estimated 660,000 internally displaced. On April 30, 1981, UNHCR ceased responsibility for assistance programs.

A small number of South African refugees have sought asylum in Zimbabwe, most of them seeking opportunities to study at universities there or abroad.

Other Africa

Chad

(4.6 million; 4/5th the size of Alaska)

UNHCR 1981: $8.5 million

The intense fighting in Chad's civil war during 1980 generated nearly 200,000 refugees and internally displaced persons, the U.S. coordinator reports. The war is the outgrowth of deep conflicts between the nomadic Arabized, Islamic northerners and the sedentary francophone, Christian/animist southerners. People from both groups have fled the country to avoid heavy fighting in N'Djamena, the capital, and elsewhere.

Libyan forces entered the country in

1980, on the side of President Oueddei, and fighting came to a halt. In November 1981 Libyan forces withdrew, at the request of the president, whose faction is in a struggle with another led by former Defense Minister Habre.

An international peace-keeping force was arranged by the Organization for African Unity; soldiers from Nigeria, Senegal, and Zaire are on duty in Chad.

UNHCR closed the refugee camp at Kousseri, Cameroon, in March, 1982. Thousands of refugees had lived there, across the Chari River from N'Djamena, the capital of Chad. All told, UNHCR assisted nearly 70,000 Chadians to return, and many thousands of others returned to their own. Approximately 1,500 from the Kousseri camp chose to remain in Chad, at another camp 600 kilometers to the South.

At the request of the UN secretary general, UNHCR is carrying out a program of assistance within Chad, to returnees and people who were internally displaced.

Cameroon

(8.7 million; size of California)
UNHCR 1981: $13 million

Cameroon has provided asylum to refugees from both Equatorial Guinea and Chad in recent years. Since a coup in 1979 overthrew the oppressive Macias regime in Equatorial Guinea, most of the 30,000 refugees from that country have returned home. Those who stay no longer have refugee status.

The UNHCR count of refugees from Chad was 110,000 in mid-1981. Since the fighting in N'Djamena stopped in December 1980, Chad has pressed the Cameroon government to end relief and encourage repatriation to Chad: Chadian authorities say refugees remain in the Kousseri refugee camp in Cameroon only because of the high level of assistance they receive. Refugees point to fragile security in Chad, a crippled economy, and the possibilities of new fighting as reasons to delay their return.

The Cameroon government shows a readiness for the refugees' departure. In 1981 it halted new construction at Kousseri and has not permitted opening of a new secondary school.

Nigeria

(79.7 million; more than twice the size of California)
UNHCR 1981: $2.2 million

UNHCR reported in June 1981 that 105,000 refugees are in Nigeria, including 100,000 from Chad. The U.S. coordinator, with information from the U.S. mission in Nigeria, reported the number from Chad at 30,000, and noted that the Nigerian government claims 160,000 Chadian refugees are in the country. The coordinator's report states:

> "The Nigerian government criteria may not make a clear distinction between economic and political refugees—between those who entered Nigeria for economic reasons as opposed to those who fled Chad for political reasons and to escape the fighting there."

In any case, the majority of the Chadians are ethnically related to the people in the Maiduguri area where they sought refuge. For the most part, reported the coordinator, they were quickly integrated into the local economy, living with relatives and taking jobs there. Two camps hold only 6,000 people, largely women and children.

Saharan Refugees

UNHCR 1981: $1.6 million

In November 1975 the Spanish government agreed to transfer administrative authority over the phosphate-rich Spanish Sahara to Morocco and Mauritania, the two neighboring countries which claimed they possessed the area before it became a Spanish colony.

After the two nations forcibly occupied the western Sahara (November 1975 to February 1976), many Saharans fled the major towns. Informal refugee camps were first set up in the desert around nomadic Saharan encampments, then moved further away, near Tindouf, across the border in Algeria.

The Polisario (an acronym for "Popular Front for the Liberation of Saquia el Hamra and Rio de Oro") established a Saharan Democratic Arab Republic which has been recognized by several states. The Front warred against Mauritania until the government changed in 1978, and Mauritania dropped its claim. Fighting between Moroccan forces and Polisario guerrillas continues.

A number of efforts have been made by African nations to bring an end to the fighting, but to date none has been acceptable to both sides.

UNHCR supports assistance for refugees at Tindouf, 1,000 miles from Algiers. Algeria reports the refugee population is 50,000. ☐

'Nightmarish Existence in Somalia Camps'

Those thousands of refugees I saw in Somalia are living in appalling conditions. They are condemned to a nightmarish existence in overcrowded camps plagued by disease, malnutrition, thirst, hopelessness and death. The camps in the area of Hargeisa, in northwestern Somalia, are perhaps the worst. From a hill, I watched tens of thousands of people moving like bees over an area of some four square kilometers studded with tiny thatch huts. Close up, I saw seven-year-old girls with tin cans scooping up water from shallow holes dug into the waterbeds of seasonally dried-up rivers. Camp doctors spoke of the lack of proper sanitary facilities and the inevitable prospect of epidemics sweeping through the entire area and beyond. I was told (and saw some) of tens of thousands of children under the age of ten condemned to an educationless existence. I saw weakened women who—I was told—were daily losing their babies due to malnutrition and disease. And feeble, old men (too weak to participate in the daily collective food-hunting), squatting about the huts, awaiting the deliverance of death. I have witnessed great human tragedies many times before. But this one will be very hard to forget.

—Carlos Moore,
Jeune Afrique

Pakistan: Country of First Asylum

H. Eugene Douglas

There is no more indispensable gesture that a country can make when options are limited and lives are at stake than to offer immediate asylum to fleeing refugees. Nor is there a more generous gesture it can offer when its own costs are measured not only in monetary terms, but as a function of strains on its infrastructure and environment. Pakistan illustrates for the U.S. and other nations how fortunate we have been and how well served the international community is by the existing networks of refugee organizations.

Pakistan, whose population is roughly one-third that of the U.S. and whose territory is about the size of Texas, has been a country of first asylum for more than two and one-half million Afghan refugees since the first flow began in the summer of 1978. The U.S., by comparison, has taken in approximately this number of refugees *altogether* since the end of the Second World War, nearly all through a process of pre-selection and orderly transfer from outside the country.

No appreciation of the situation of Pakistan is possible without reference to the fact that this is the fourth time in its 35-year history as an independent nation that it has withstood the impact of massive population movements. The first was after the 1947 partition of British India into Moslem and Hindu zones, the largest population transfer in history until that time. Fourteen million persons crossed the new border between India and Pakistan. The second, smaller movement was associated with the 1971 conflict between Pakistan and India, resulting in the creation of the new state of Bangladesh. The third was the result of an acute famine in Afghanistan in the early 1970s, resulting in movement from that country to Pakistan and Iran. The most recent crisis has arisen out of the installation by coup of a Marxist government in Afghanistan in April of 1978, followed by a Soviet invasion in December 1979.

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Cross-border migrations which have been facilitated by extended family and tribal relations have a long history in this part of the world, particularly in the region known colloquially as "Pushtunistan." This area is composed of parts of Northwest Pakistan and southeast Afghanistan. But it has only been since the 1979 invasion that migration has speeded up, become one-way, and involved a cross-section of Afghan classes and interests. Although the original refugee flow consisted mostly of urban middle-class Afghans whose tribal, political, or family ties created obvious cause to fear a Marxist government, peasants and urban workers soon joined the flow. By the time of the Soviet invasion at the close of 1979, there were already more than 400,000 Afghan refugees in Pakistan. Today, the numbers, in the range of 2.5 to 3 million (including an estimated half-million Afghan refugees in Iran), make this the largest national refugee group in the world.

In a time when it is increasingly difficult to distinguish refugees from other categories of forced migrant, the Afghan situation is very straightforward in terms of the 1951 UN Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Afghans have principally fled political repression and religious persecution; in the past three years there have been thousands of summary executions of individuals who participated in the government before 1978, or who belonged to certain extended families. Amnesty International recently estimated that there were some 12,000 political prisoners in one Kabul prison alone, held without reference to law, and subject to torture and execution. As of September 1981, there were also an estimated 10,000 political prisoners in Afghan jails.

Children are among the 2.5–3 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan. UNICEF.

The response of the government of Pakistan, and the international community, has been a model for other nations of first asylum. Primary responsibility was assumed by the host country itself, which, from the beginning, established the principle of safe haven. The Pakistani government took on many of the responsibilities of the refugee relief program, including the establishment in October 1980 of the office of chief commissioner for Afghan refugees, which employs about 5,000 civil servants managing a relief program now in its third year of operation. That program is typical of large-scale efforts of recent years to assist refugees in its mix of bilateral, multilateral, and private voluntary efforts capped by an administrative entity of the host country acting as an operational partner of UNHCR.

Services to the Afghan refugees are provided through a variety of specialized agencies, public and private. Projection of food needs and procurement of commodities from donor nations is the responsibility of the World Food Program (WFP) which also monitors the delivery of food from the port at Karachi to the more than 275 refugee tented villages which have been authorized by the government of Pakistan. Medical care, clothing, and relief goods are furnished through the voluntary

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Ambassador-at-Large H. Eugene Douglas was confirmed as the third U.S. coordinator for refugee affairs in March 1982. Previously he was corporate director of international trade and government for Memorex Corporation.

agencies (of which 28 are now actively engaged in various phases of the relief program), the International Committee of the Red Cross, or directly by Pakistani refugee relief workers.

The funds for these operations have come through three major sources: international organizations, bilateral contributions, and the host government. The major international actors have been UNHCR, UNICEF, and WFP, which mounted a program so far valued at $250 million. The U.S., like many other countries, has contributed through several different channels.

In fiscal 1981, this country's efforts included cash and commodities valued at $93.5 million. Of this, $18.9 million in food was donated to the WFP; over $4 million to various voluntary agencies active in the Northwest Frontier Province where 75–80 percent of the refugees live; more than $8 million bilaterally to the government of Pakistan for inland transport of relief goods; and $32.6 million toward the UNHCR Pakistan program. Finally, the Pakistani government estimated its own costs in 1981 alone at $161 million.

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Two principal instruments guide relations among states with respect to refugees: the 1951 UN convention and its 1967 protocol, which extended the convention's provisions beyond the European theatre for which it was designed and removed limitations in time. Article 33 of the convention binds a signatory state not to return a refugee forcibly to a country where his life or liberty would be jeopardized on grounds of race, religion, nationality, political opinion, or social group.

Paradoxically, the counterpart to this obligation, an individual right to asylum, is absent from international law. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a non-binding instrument, confers on individuals only a right to "...seek and enjoy asylum." Therefore, the significance of providing asylum lies precisely in fast, decisive state action to fill the gap in the international legal framework.

Food distribution is part of the international assistance to Afghan refugees in Pakistan. UNHCR.

Afghans, fleeing repression and persecution, have taken haven in Pakistan. UNHCR.

In this respect, the most remarkable aspect of the Pakistani experience is that the country opened its borders and offered asylum, which has now endured three years, even though it is not a party to either of the international instruments on refugees. The action of the Pakistani government is not unique: none of the Asian nations which have offered first asylum to Indochinese refugees in the past eight years have been signatories of the instruments either. But Pakistan's actions are no less noteworthy for that fact.

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First, they serve as a model of decent and humane behavior, particularly for countries which have undertaken legal obligations. Second—and in common with some of the Asian nations which accepted Indochinese refugees—there should be no illusions about the willingness or capacity of the government of Pakistan to sustain massive movements into its territory without large-scale, long-term commitments of support from the international community. It is both unreasonable and unrealistic to expect any country which is the victim of its own geography to shoulder, alone, the effects of events over which it has no control. To speak of international solidarity and burden-sharing, of which we hear so much, is not posturing: it is a necessity, and without it lives can be lost, principles undermined, and national interests of states damaged.

The most remarkable aspect of the Pakistani experience is that the country opened its borders and offered asylum even though it is not a party to international instruments on refugees.

The history of the Indochinese refugee program has perhaps accustomed us to associate first asylum with large-scale resettlement in third countries. The experience of Afghans in Pakistan shows that such resettlement is not foreordained, and in this respect, the Pakistani program more closely resembles refugee operations in Africa. It will probably continue to do so, provided that certain conditions prevail.

The experience of Afghans in Pakistan shows that third country resettlement is not foreordained.

Chief among these conditions is the historic relationship between refugee and host populations. Where friction, rivalry, or some other form of incompatibility have characterized that history, the warmth of welcome is not likely to endure. (This will be especially true of programs that seem to be moving in the direction of permanent solutions in the country of first asylum.) In Pakistan, the principle of first asylum has not been jeopardized by such incompatibility. On the contrary, even though the area most directly affected by the refugee flow was the subject of a border dispute between the host and sending countries in 1961, cross-boundary tribal and family relations eased the granting of asylum and the provision of relief operations. As a consequence, it has not become necessary to consider seriously the option of large-scale third country resettlement for the Afghan refugees.

But in order for this situation to continue, at least three other conditions must prevail. The international community should continue to assist in the overseas resettlement of those few Afghan refugees for whom it is appropriate; ensure that those who remain in Pakistan do not develop into a dependent population; and continue to supplement the resources of the host country through international assistance.

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The U.S. carries out a limited resettlement program for Afghan refugees in Pakistan, India, and Europe, concentrating on those who do not have the option to remain where they are, and who have special ties, particularly family ties, to this country. The numbers available to admit Afghans are part of the Near East allocation of 6,500 approved following congressional consultations on FY 82 admissions.

The U.S. presently admits Afghan refugees in four categories: those who are of compelling interest or concern to the U.S. (who may be in immediate danger of loss of life, or are former or present political prisoners); former U.S. government employees; family reunification cases (first degree refugees whose anchor relatives in the U.S. are either citizen, permanent resident alien, refugee, or asylee); and those with other ties to the U.S. through a work, education, or training relationship of at least one year's duration. As of the end of February 1982, 1550 Afghan refugees had been admitted to the U.S. under this program, and 2244 were in the admission process overseas.

The second element of the policy—keeping on-site assistance carefully proportioned—addresses one of the classic dilemmas of refugee programs. Where friction is not initially present, it can develop if a balance is not struck between the level of assistance for refugees and the standard of living of the host country. Once a perception of a privileged class of foreigners develops, whether that perception is justified or not, the principle of asylum itself may be endangered.

Afghan refugees temporarily residing at Pishin camp in Pakistan. UNHCR.

The common-sense rule of avoiding unseemly disparities is reinforced by the desire to avoid creating a dependent refugee population. Long experience dating from the Second World War has taught us the human and material costs of refugee camps.

The paradox of this lesson is that while some kind of productive activity is beneficial to both the refugees and the host population, such activity generally connotes a permanence in the country of asylum that neither party wishes to concede. In the case of Pakistan, no one, least of all the Afghan refugees themselves, wishes to see the development of a long-term dependent population.

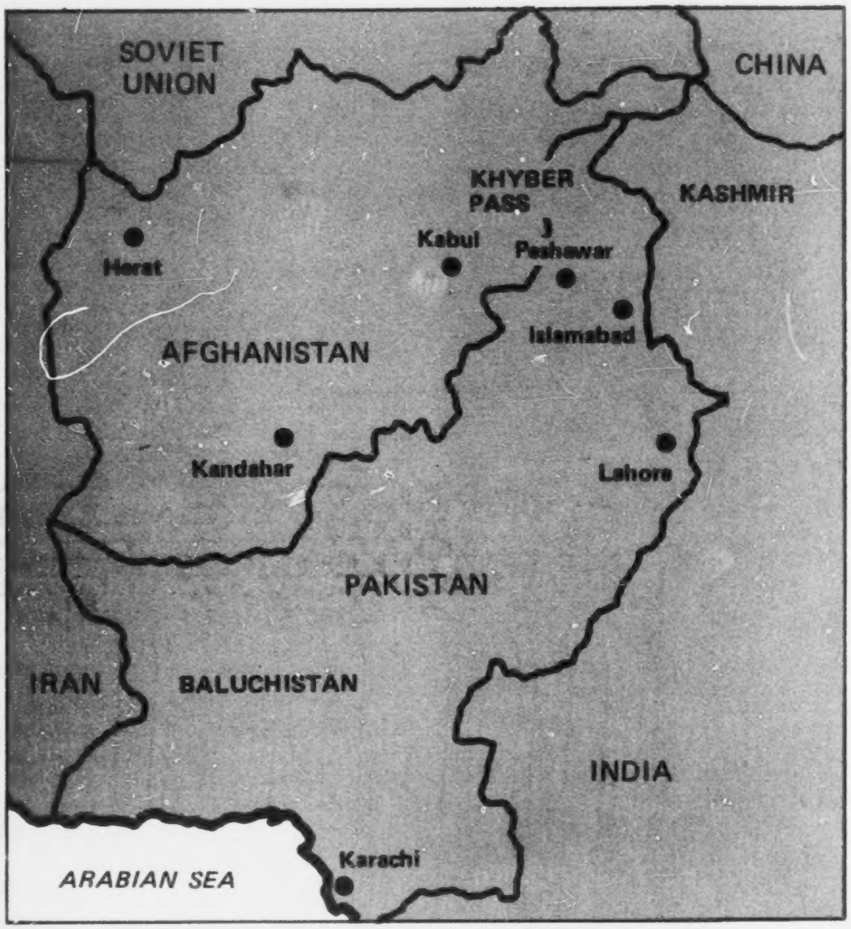
What this suggests is a probable continuation of international assistance for some time to come, both to help the host country and refugees, and to avoid the appearance that asylum will be permanent. The ultimate resolution to the situation will have to be in terms of a political solution to the problem of Soviet interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan. But despite international pressure and internal resistance, this is not likely to occur soon.

Situations calling for first asylum are bound to continue unless and until something of a concerted nature is done under international auspices about root causes of massive forced migrations.

Situations calling for first asylum are bound to continue unless and until something of a concerted nature is done under international auspices about root causes of massive forced migrations. The need to respond to such population movements is growing, and the outlook is for more of the same. A recent report prepared for the UN Commission on Human Rights paints a gloomy picture of increasing numbers of these events of more people on the move across international boundaries for reasons which would not cause them to be called refugees, as described under current law. Sadruddin Aga Khan, the report's author, writes that "mass movements have become more commonplace, and the principle of the law of asylum has been eroded."

For the foreseeable future, while diplomatic and other initiatives are undertaken, the priority must be to protect the integrity of asylum, as Pakistan has done, and for the international community to provide the assistance which is the indispensable incentive for that effort. ☐

MIDDLE EAST



Cyprus
(630,000; smaller than Connecticut)
UNHCR 1981: $14 million

Cyprus was partitioned after the civil war of 1974 between Greek and Turkish Cypriots. An estimated 200,000 people were displaced, with 160,000 Greeks moving to the south part of the island, and 40,000 Turks to the north. UN efforts are still aimed at a permanent solution to the island's political problems.

In 1981 UNHCR continued as the coordinating agency for international aid, which takes the form of assistance to agriculture, education, health facilities, and housing.

Iran
(38 million; 636,000 sq. mi.)

The Islamic revolution of 1979 brought many fundamental changes to Iran, causing a substantial number of Iranians to leave or remain outside the country. Approximately 10,000 Iranians are now in the U.S. seeking political asylum, with large numbers seeking refuge in Western Europe and elsewhere.

The war with Iraq which began in 1980, and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, have led to major movements of people within and into Iran. Many thousands of Arabs and Iranians have fled the fighting with Iraq, to take refuge in Iran's interior. Prior to the fighting, Iraq expelled about 30,000 into Iran. Several hundred thousand Afghans are believed to have crossed into Iran during the past two years.

The Baha'i community, whose religious views are considered a threat to Islamic purity, has been the object of oppression, with beatings and executions reported. Also threatened are Jews and the Kurdish minority, which has long sought independence.

Since the U.S. does not have a mission in Iran, information available to the State Department is scant.

Iraq
(13 million; larger than California)

Relations between the government and the Kurdish minority traditionally have been difficult. A Kurdish rebellion in 1974-5 resulted in the death of many thousands of Kurds and the flight to Iran of an estimated 100,000, of whom 65-70,000 are believed to have returned. In April 1980, the government expelled to Iran over 30,000 Iranians and Iraquis

Baha'is Persecuted in Iran; Some Flee to Other Lands

Since the 1979 revolution in Iran, members of the Baha'i religious minority have faced persecution which has increased in intensity. More than 100 Baha'is have been executed, holy places have been destroyed, and scores of Baha'is have been dismissed from jobs or deprived of business and trade licenses, for refusal to recant their faith. In December 1981 eight members of the religion's national assembly were secretly executed; no charges were made, no trials held, and none of the families notified of the deaths, the Baha'is report.

Protests against this persecution of a religious minority have reached the UN. In March 1982 a number of nations sponsored a resolution "urging the government of Iran as a party to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to respect and ensure rights recognized in that covenant." The resolution asked the secretary general to investigate and report back to the UN Commission on Human Rights.

As a result of continuing oppression, thousands of Baha'is have fled from Iran, including as many as 5,000 to Pakistan.

Afghan refugees in their village near Jehangirabad, Pakistan. UNHCR.

Refugees from Afghanistan camp in Baluchistan Province, Pakistan. UNHCR.

Pakistan's "Other" Refugees

While world attention has been focused on the 2.6 million Afghans in Pakistan, refugees have been arriving from another source — Iran.

UNHCR estimates several thousand Iranians are in Pakistan. They include those persecuted because of their religion, such as the Baha'is; political dissidents of divergent opinions; and members of the Baluchi tribal minority, who are Sunni Muslims in Shia-Iran.

The Iranians pose an awkward problem for Pakistan since they flee a fellow Muslim state which is an important trade partner. The government does not acknowledge their refugee status and says little about their presence, but it permits UNHCR to issue identity papers and provide a daily subsistence allowance. The Iranians live in fear of denunciation as "illegal immigrants" by Iranian supporters in Pakistan of the government of Ayatollah Khomeini.

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of Iranian descent on the grounds that they were a hostile element in the society.

Israel

(3.8 million; size of Massachusetts)

Israel is built upon absorption of Jewish immigrants and refugees. It is a central tenet of the Zionist creed that every Jew, whatever his country of origin, has a right to citizenship in the Jewish homeland. Therefore, however, he can no longer be considered a refugee by Israel. Under the Law of Return, any Jew can emigrate to Israel at any time.

Since 1948 Israel has taken in well over one million Jews from Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa. Nearly half [illegible] the present Jewish population are immigrants. Religious identities represented in Israel are: Jews 85 percent; Moslems 11 percent; Christians 2.5 percent.

In 1980 new immigrants totaled 20,793, of whom 12,869 were from what the U.S. coordinator terms hardship countries (Arab states, Iran, Ethiopia, Soviet Union, Romania).

The U.S. furnishes financial support to Israel's immigrant absorption program and to the transportation of Jews from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe to Israel.

Israel has accepted a total of 366 Vietnamese refugees and has sent three medical teams to Thailand to aid Khmer refugees.

Jordan

(3.2 million; slightly larger than Indiana)

UNRWA 1981: $64 million

Jordan has more Palestinian refugees than any other Middle Eastern country. Alone among them, Jordan has granted citizenship to the refugees, which permits them to work and own property. Though some have risen to high positions in government and elsewhere in the economy, by and large they are less favored. This has led to unrest and, in 1970-1, to civil war.

UNRWA reports 732,615 Palestinians in Jordan, plus some 200,000 displaced from the West Bank. There are believed to be many others who have not been counted.

The Jordanian government spent approximately $35 million in 1980 and again in 1981 on refugees, according to the U.S. coordinator.

Lebanon

(3.2 million; smaller than Connecticut)
UNRWA 1980: $22.5 million

Palestinian refugees number 232,455 according to UNRWA, but a 1980 Palestinian statistical abstract put the number at 347,100. In addition UNHCR reports 2,000 Eritrean and 500 Assyrian Christian refugees in Lebanon.

Thousands of Lebanese were displaced from their homes by the civil war in 1975 and subsequent violence. Many who lived in South Lebanon fled the area as a result of continued fighting between armed Palestinians and Israelis.

The Palestinian refugees have had a major political impact. Following Jordan's 1970 drive against Palestinian guerrilla organizations operating from the West Bank, many of those fighters moved to Lebanon and further organized the Palestinians in camps. The Palestinian "resistance," although owing no loyalty to Lebanon, remains one of the principal players on the national political scene. Palestinians also swell the unskilled labor market and enrollment in public and private schools outside the UNRWA system.

Aged refugees face special problems. UNRWA.

Palestinian Refugees:
1.9 Million Await a Solution

Nearly three-quarters of a million Arabs became refugees during the fighting before and after the creation in 1948 of the state of Israel in the former British Mandate territory of Palestine. The refugees fled to Arab-held areas: the largest number to eastern Palestine, now better known as the West Bank (of the river Jordan); many to the Gaza Strip, subsequently administered by Egypt; others to east Jordan, Lebanon, and the Syrian Arab Republic; some even further afield. This influx of largely destitute families was an overwhelming burden on the Arab host countries.

The UN defines a Palestinian refugee as a person whose normal residence was Palestine for a minimum of two years immediately before the outbreak of the conflict in 1948 and who, as a result of that conflict, lost both ***home and means of livelihood. To be eligible for assistance by UNRWA, the refugee must be registered, in need, and in Jordan, Lebanon, the Syrian Arab Republic, or the Gaza Strip—the areas contiguous to Israel in which the agency operates.***

Descendants of registered refugees who fulfill certain criteria are also eligible for assistance. But the definition excludes economic refugees (who lost their homes or ***their means of livelihood, but not both), as well as families which left Palestine but which were quickly able to re-establish themselves and so were never in need.***

According to UNRWA estimates, the refugee population is increasing by about 50,000 annually, and approximately 50 percent of the refugees are 20 years of age or under.

Assistance has been stopped or reduced in more than 984,000 cases since 1950, as refugees developed their earning power, left UNRWA's area of operations, or died. Today as a result of natural increase in population, there are some 1.8 million persons registered with UNRWA, apart from other Palestinians who also became refugees in 1948 but were not in need and did not register. None of either group has been offered the choice between repatriation and compensation for loss of or damage to property, as repeatedly recommended by the UN General Assembly.

Political aspects, as well as the question of repatriation and compensation, are the responsibility of the UN Security Council and the Conciliation Commission for Palestine.

—UNRWA, A Survey of United Nations Assistance to Palestine Refugees, 1980.

Pakistan

(81.5 million; larger than Texas)
UNHCR 1981: $105 million

Pakistan has the largest number of refugees of any country in the world—2.6 million people who have fled from the fighting in Afghanistan.

Soviet forces which invaded Afghanistan in December 1979 appear to be locked in a stalemate with the guerrilla fighters who oppose them. The Soviet occupiers have been forced to provide the operating structure of the country because of local opposition to collaborators. Soviet forces occupy larger towns and cities, while guerrillas hold much of the countryside.

In Pakistan, the refugees are in the North West Frontier Province and Baluchistan. An average of 1.7 million live in refugee villages and receive care from the Pakistan government, UNHCR and an assortment of agencies.

Afghans await a return to their country, with few expressing interest in resettlement abroad. The U.S. and other governments continue to press for a settlement which would include withdrawal of Soviet troops.

Syria

(9 million; size of North Dakota)
UNRWA 1981: $20 million

The government estimates 288,000 Palestinian refugees are within Syria; UNRWA has registered 215,147. Most of the Palestinians are in camps, although a small number live in urban areas and villages, with government assistance. Syria reported spending $40.8 million on refugees in the year ending in mid-1980.

Traditionally Syria has received a variety of refugees from nearby countries, but no information is available on current numbers. □

Politics and Policies of "First Asylum" in Thailand

Robert P. DeVecchi

Thailand, of all the countries of the free world, has been the most severely tested by the upheavals in Indochina which began in the spring of 1975. Its basic security has been threatened by the coming to power of a hostile and aggressive regime in Hanoi. Its neighbor to the east, Cambodia, all but disappeared into a black hole, only to emerge in 1979 as an occupied state ruled from Hanoi. The area along the Thai-Cambodian border is still controlled by resistance groups, including remnants of the Khmer Rouge. Its neighbor to the north, Laos, has also become a Vietnam-dominated state.

As a result of these upheavals, Thailand has been the country of first asylum for hundreds of thousands of refugees from the three Indochinese states. They come from a variety of national and ethnic groups and all strata of society. What they have in common is that they have fled—over land or by sea—from the chaos and repression in their native lands, seeking refuge and a safe haven. No country in recent history has been called upon to respond to such a continuing and sustained flow of diverse peoples in distress for such a long period. This crisis—which began seven years ago—continues today.

> *No country in recent history has been called upon to respond to such a continuing and sustained flow of diverse peoples in distress for such a long period.*

To put Thailand's burden into some perspective, over 1.5 million Indochinese refugees have fled since 1975. Of these, some 135,000 were evacuated from Vietnam in the spring of 1975 and were taken to countries of final settlement such as the U.S. and France. In addition, some 263,000 Vietnamese of Chinese descent have been moved from Vietnam to the Peoples Republic of China. Of the remaining one million, close to 600,000, or 60 percent, have passed through or are now in Thailand.

The number of refugees still in countries of first asylum has declined from its peak in 1979 to about 230,000 today. Of these, over 190,000 are in Thailand—85 percent of the total. The refugees in other countries of first asylum—primarily Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, the Philippines, and Hong Kong—have been boat people from Vietnam. Thailand, on the other hand, has had to contend not only with refugees from Vietnam, but with far greater numbers from Cambodia and Laos as well.

The policies adopted by the Royal Thai government regarding the granting of first asylum to Indochinese refugees have, on the whole, been on the side of generosity and a humane response to the plight of people in distress. At the same time, these policies have varied according to the ethnic groups involved, and the objective conditions prevailing at the time they sought asylum. These variations reflect, in part, traditional Thai attitudes towards the several ethnic groups, based on long historical interaction. They also reflect security interests and responsibilities as perceived by the Thai authorities. Further, they reflect external influences from international organizations such as UNHCR and other interested public and private bodies. Of critical importance have been the policies adopted by the countries willing to accept Indochinese refugees for permanent resettlement.

The following is a brief analysis of the policies adopted by the Thai government, toward the different ethnic groups, and how they have evolved

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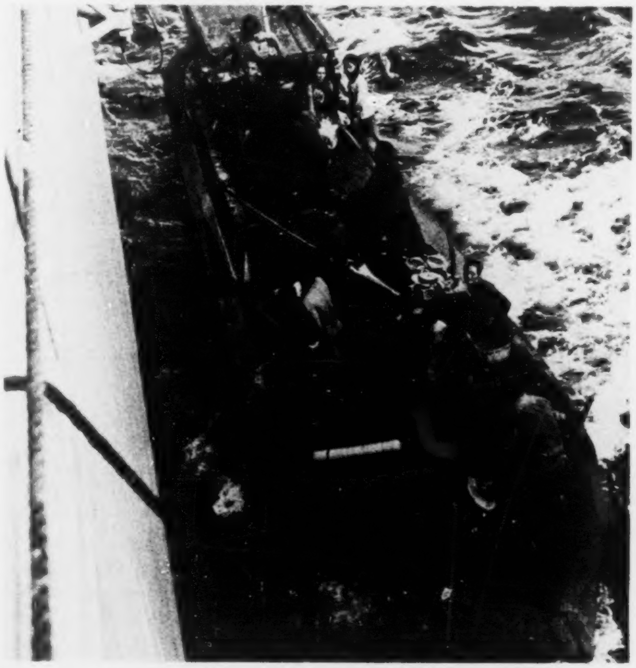
Rivalries and antipathies between the peoples of Vietnam and Thailand have run deep for centuries. Thus Thai policies towards refugees from Vietnam have tended to be harsher than those directed towards any other group of Indochinese refugees. This attitude has been reinforced by the lingering problems posed by the presence of several thousand Vietnamese refugees who were admitted to Thailand following the French withdrawal from Indochina in 1954.



Boats like this one on the South China Sea have been increasingly threatened by pirates. U.S. Navy.

The first boat refugees from Vietnam began arriving on Thai shores in 1976. The numbers grew from a handful a month to several thousand at the peak in the summer of 1979. While the reception arriving refugees received on the beach varied considerably, the overall policy was to permit them to stay. With the help of UNHCR, two camps were established—one at Songkhla on the Kra peninsula and the second at Laem Sing in Chanthaburi province on the east coast. The conditions under which they were permitted to stay depended on the willingness of third countries—such as the U.S., France, Canada,

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and Australia—to move them out of Thailand. Moments of hiatus, for example when there was no U.S. resettlement program, were particularly perilous for the Vietnamese boat refugees.

This tenuous situation threatened to break down under the pressures of the massive overflow of Vietnamese refugees in 1979. There were recorded instances of boats being refused permission to dock, or being towed back to sea and directed most often towards Malaysia. An international conference called by UNHCR in the summer of 1979 prevailed upon Vietnam to stop expelling its unwanted—primarily ethnic Chinese—citizens. The boats kept coming, however, though at a reduced rate. By then there were sufficient guarantees of third country resettlement to permit those arriving, in most instances, to be taken into the camps to await resettlement.

Since 1981, the Thai authorities have been increasingly concerned that the international effort to take Vietnamese boat people for resettlement was waning and Thai policy has once again become more restrictive towards boat people. In order to deter refugees from heading to Thailand in hopes of rapid resettlement, the camps at Songkhla and Laem Sing were officially closed. Since August 15, 1981, boats have been permitted to land, but the refugees are brought to austere inland camp areas and they are not at this time eligible for resettlement. Nonetheless, the flow continues, averaging about 1,000 per month. All told, some 70,000 Vietnamese boat people have come to Thailand since 1976. Of these, 65,000 have been resettled in third countries, and some 5,000 remain.

One issue which remains unresolved today is the piracy attacks on Vietnamese boats. The reported instances of attack by pirate ships—often in the guise of fishing ships—continue to mount. In 1981, they reached epidemic proportions, with over 80 percent of the boats reporting one or more attacks. But the assaults have not been for material gain alone: they have involved rape, murder, and abduction at appalling levels. Despite international efforts to mount an anti-piracy campaign, the mayhem continues, to the shame of all concerned.

Thailand has also accepted nearly 25,000 Vietnamese who came over land—from Laos and Cambodia. Here, too, the need for rapid resettlement to third countries has applied. Fewer than a thousand land refugees from Vietnam remain in Thailand today. Several hundred Vietnamese—including defecting soldiers and civilians who crossed Cambodia—are presently on the Thai-Cambodian border. They are held in a special section of one of the large Cambodian border enclaves, under protection of the International Committee of the Red Cross. Efforts to date to move this vulnerable group from the border into reception camps in Thailand have not been successful.

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Thailand and Laos share a long border. Much of it lies along the banks of the Mekong river, where ethnic Lao and ethnic Thai have intermingled for centuries. In fact, some claim that the majority of the population of northeast Thailand is ethnically Lao. Thailand's northwestern border with Laos runs through mountainous, densely forested land. In these areas live large numbers of highlanders—ethnic hill-tribe groupings which form a part of the large mass of hill tribes of Chinese origin which stretch from China down through Laos, Thailand, and Burma. They practice a type of "slash and burn" agriculture that keeps them in a slow but continuous migration, by and large in a southwesterly direction.

Given this history and recalling the extent of U.S. involvement in Laos prior to 1975, it is not surprising that refugees from Laos—both ethnic Lao and ethnic hill tribes—have been crossing over into Thailand seeking sanctuary. What has been surprising is the size of the exodus. In all, some 285,000 refugees have fled Laos for Thailand since 1975, close to 10 percent of the estimated population of Laos. Of these, some 160,000 are ethnic Lao and 125,000 are from the hill tribes.

In numerical terms, refugees from Laos represent the largest burden Thailand has had to bear. In political terms, given the close historical ties between the peoples of the two countries, they are less of a burden than those coming from Vietnam or Cambodia. At the same time, the government of Thailand has maintained the position that acceptance would be limited to Lao for whom eventually there would be permanent resettlement in third countires or who would voluntarily return to Laos when conditions permitted. In other words, the Lao have been welcomed as temporary guests but Thailand has maintained that it will not accept refugees from Laos for permanent resettlement.

Given the above stipulation, it is of interest to describe the evolution of first asylum policy as it has been applied to the two main groups from Laos—the ethnic Lao and the highlanders.

The Lao have been welcomed as temporary guests but Thailand has maintained that it will not accept refugees from Laos for permanent resettlement.

Refugees from the lowland areas of Laos, in particular from the cities along the Mekong such as Vientiane, Savannakhet, and Pakse, began crossing into Thailand as soon as it became clear that the Pathet Lao would emerge as the leading political and military force in the country. Many of the early arrivals were persons closely associated with the former government of Laos, or with the military effort, or both. Many had trained in Thailand or had crossed back and forth frequently in the course of their duties. Thus, for them flight was to a relatively well-known and hospitably disposed neighbor, with the greatest risk being to get across the river.

Ethnic Lao refugees were placed in one of two large camps in Thailand established by the Thai government in collaboration with UNHCR. Nongkhai camp is on the Mekong river, almost directly across from Vientiane, the administrative capital of Laos. Ubon camp is in northeast Thailand, near the Laotian city of Pakse. These two camps began building up in 1975 to the point where, in 1979, each claimed refugee populations in excess of 50,000. They were two of the largest ethnic Lao townships in the world, larger than most Laotian provincial capitals.

In 1976, the first group of Lao who had been associated with the U.S. were admitted to that country as refugees. The flow of refugees from Laos grew rapidly from 1977 on, as did the number of ethnic Lao accepted for resettlement by the U.S. and other countries, notably France.

All told, some 160,000 ethnic Lao have come to Thailand since 1975. Of these, some 120,000 have now been resettled in a third country (85,000 in the U.S.). Some 38,000 remain in camps in Thailand. It is reported that 2,000 have returned to Laos under a program of "voluntary repatriation," agreed to by the governments of Laos and Thailand, arranged by UNHCR.

The number of ethnic Lao refugees coming across the Mekong river averaged 3- to 5,000 each month during 1979 and 1980. While crossing into Thailand involved dangers—and sometimes death or forcible repatriation—there was a steady flow of people and information back and forth across the Thai-Lao border. Conditions in the Nongkhai camp, for example, were known in Vientiane, as were the prospects for resettlement. Thus, the perception began to grow among those concerned with the refugee flow that what had started as a flight by refugees from political oppression was becoming a steady migration of people seeking relief from the economic hardships of Laos in favor of a life in Thailand or perhaps beyond.

The growth of these perceptions, in particular among officials of UNHCR and to some extent of the foreign embassies, did not escape the notice of the Royal Thai government. Recognizing the very real possibility that resettlement countries might begin accepting fewer ethnic Lao refugees, Thai officials were quick to draw the conclusion that they would have to take measures to limit the flow.

However one might feel about humane deterrence, statistics show that its objective—to reduce the flow of ethnic Lao refugees into Thailand—seems to have been met.

Thus was born the policy of "humane deterrence," whereby all ethnic Lao refugees arriving in Thailand after January 1, 1981, are placed in "austere" camps, physically removed from the established camp populations of Nonghkai and Ubon. These refugees are not presently eligible to be considered for resettlement by a third country regardless of how well qualified they might be.

However one might feel about humane deterrence, statistics show that its objective—to reduce the flow of ethnic Lao refugees into Thailand—seems to have been met. The monthly flow is now in the low hundreds; many of these refugees have recently been released from the harsh and repressive "seminars" into which those associated with the former government have been placed (prison or work camps would be a more accurate title), or are persons who have close family ties in a third country.

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For over 15 years, ethnic hill tribesmen in Laos—the Hmong in particular—were deeply involved in the U.S.-financed and -supported "secret war." It was inevitable that, as the Pathet Lao moved to consolidate their control over Laos in 1975, the Hmong leadership would have to leave. It was just as inevitable that, in a tightly cohesive, tribal society, if the leadership left, many would follow and that those who stayed behind would be suspect to the new authorities who would try any means to bring them to heel.

Since 1975, over 125,000 hill tribesmen have fled from Laos into Thailand. They have been accommodated in six UNHCR camps, the largest of which, Ban Vinai, has become perhaps the largest Hmong settlement in the world, housing some 30,000 people.

All told, some 70,000 hill tribesmen, predominantly Hmong but including other tribal groups such as the Mien, have been resettled in third countries. This is the first time in history that any substantial number of people from these tribes has ever come to live in the West.

During 1979 and 1980, highlanders kept arriving in Thailand, often 4–5,000 per month. They arrived in pitiful condition, having had to make their way on foot through the rugged terrain, foraging for food and trying to avoid hostile Lao or Vietnamese military units. Often, their attempts to cross over into Laos met with disaster, either from armed patrols on the Lao side, unwelcoming Thai patrols on the Thai side, or simply inability to cross the treacherous Mekong.

Relatively few Lao refugees seek third country resettlement. These are destined for a new home in Spain. UNHCR.

Since 1980, the number of hill-tribe refugees seeking refuge in Thailand has decreased markedly. At the same time, for a variety of reasons, those who are offered the chance to resettle in a third country are, by and large, declining the offer. Thus a stalemate has been reached, with a relatively stable camp population of 55,000 hill-tribe refugees in Thailand. To date there have been no strong pressures from the Thai authorities to resolve this stalemate, by encouraging either resettlement or repatriation. While it is impossible to predict with any certainty what may happen, it is conceivable that a period of "benign neglect" may be underway, and the length of stay of the hill-tribe refugees in Thailand will become longer and longer.

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Of all the refugees from Indochina, none have created more intractable problems than those from Cambodia. The situation remains highly unstable and volatile, with no clear-cut resolution in sight.

At the time the Khmer Rouge under Pol Pot took over the destiny of Cambodia in 1975, only about 15,000 refugees were able to reach Thailand. Many of these were local people who were able to cross the border before it was sealed. They were settled in three refugee camps established by the Thai government under UNHCR auspices. Later, during the nearly four-year period when the people of Cambodia suffered unutterable hardships under the Pol Pot regime, only a trickle of refugees was able to escape. At the same time, tensions were building up on the Cambodian-Vietnamese border. They erupted in late 1978 as Vietnam launched a full-fledged invasion of its neighbor. It soon became apparent that a large wave of refugees was making its way across Cambodia, heading for Thailand.

Of all the refugees from Indochina, none have created more intractable problems than those from Cambodia.

In the spring of 1979, the wave could no longer be contained. Two distinct groupings flowed into Thailand. One, numbering some 75,000, was under Pol Pot control. It included military cadre, dependents, and hostages. They marched sullenly and silently into Thailand headed south, and marched back again into the rugged Cardamom mountains of southwestern Cambodia. Another group, numbering some 50,000, were not under Pol Pot control. Among them were many urban people of middle-class background. Some associated with earlier regimes, many of them merchants, including a number of ethnic Chinese. These refugees found themselves in small enclaves inside Thailand—they were not permitted into the UNHCR camps although they did receive a modicum of protection from that agency. A small number of these refugees claimed immediate relatives in the U.S. or France and some others were readily identifiable as officials of the previous regime. Although they were not in camps and no formal mechanism was in place to select them for resettlement, about 2,500 managed to enter the resettlement stream and move on.

For the rest, however, an unexpected and tragic fate awaited. In late May 1979, for reasons still not fully understood, the Thai government decided that these refugees, who had never really been granted status, must be returned to Cambodia. They were rounded up, put in buses and driven across the border in the remote Prean Vihear region of eastern Thailand. The terrain was particularly inhospitable and the area was heavily mined. No one knows how many died, but it must have been in the thousands. It was the most regrettable chapter in the entire Indochinese refugee saga in Thailand.

The respite on Thailand's hospitality was short-lived, however. In the fall of 1979, large numbers of Cambodians—both Khmer Rouge and "free" Khmer—began to amass on the Thai border. Most were sick, starving, or dying. This tidal wave of misery could no longer be contained. In a dramatic reversal of policy, the Thai prime minister announced in October 1979 that Cambodians would be permitted to enter Thailand under special conditions. They would not be defined as refugees or granted first asylum. Rather, they would be considered "illegal entrants" and placed in specially built "holding centers" under the control of the Thai military. They would not be eligible to be considered for resettlement in third countries. Rather, they would be guests of the Kingdom of Thailand and expected to return to Cambodia when conditions there permitted. Within a few weeks, some 150,000 Cambodian refugees were placed in the holding centers of Sakeo, Khao-I-Dang, Kamput, and Mairut. At the same time, large numbers of other Cambodians had begun to establish settlements on the Thai-Cambodian border; these numbers grew to over a half-million people.

No one knows how many Cambodians died, but it must have been in the thousands. It was the most regrettable chapter in the entire Indochinese refugee saga in Thailand.

This was truly a large-scale emergency. It seized the conscience of the world and led to a massive relief effort involving international organizations—UNHCR, UNICEF, ICRC, and the World Food Program. In addition, hundreds of private voluntary agencies and individuals flocked to Thailand to participate in one of the largest life-saving operations ever undertaken.

At the outset, the general policy governing the hospitality extended to the Cambodians was that they were to return eventually to Cambodia. In late 1979 the border was closed, blocking the entry of additional refugees into the holding centers. International food aid and medical assistance were provided to those on the border, but their entry into Thailand was barred.

The situation starting in 1980 was fraught with instability. Of the holding center population of 150,000, perhaps as many as 50,000 were Khmer Rouge followers, mostly in the Sakeo camp. Rival groups struggled for domination of the border enclaves, some being Khmer Rouge, others followers of various Free Khmer movements, and still others in the grip of petty warlords seeking to control the lucrative cross-border trade. During the course of the year, it became evident that a significant number of Cambodians in the holding centers had most compelling reasons to be resettled in third countries, mostly for reunion with immediate family.

All told, as many as 50,000 were eventually moved in the resettlement stream. A number of these refugees were accepted into an innovative program that brought them to urban areas in the U.S. with established Cambodian refugee communities. The majority of these refugees first attended several months of orientation and English language training programs in the Philippine and Indonesian refugee processing centers.

At the same time, UNHCR undertook a vigorous, sustained effort to institute a repatriation program acceptable to the authorities in Hanoi, Phnom Penh, and Bangkok. There was, however, no movement of refugees under this program. In June of 1980 the Thai authorities, with UNHCR assistance, attempted unilaterally the repatriation of 2,500 Cambodians—reportedly Khmer Rouge followers—across the border into Khmer Rouge-controlled encampments. This incident may have prompted a sudden attack by Vietnamese forces against several non-military Cambodian refugee enclaves along the border near Poipet and Aranyaprathet. The attacks resulted in numerous civilian casualties. Subsequently, since the summer of 1980, there have been no regular efforts at repatriation directly across the Thai-Cambodian border. Individuals or family units, however, do leave the camps and return to border areas and some in border areas move back into the interior of Cambodia as opportunities present themselves.

Cambodian refugee identifies kin at the Sakaeo Camp Training Office in Thailand. Family reunification is an important aspect in resettling refugees. UNHCR.

At Aranyatrathet camp in Thailand, Cambodian refugees line up for food. UNHCR.

By early 1982 the long-range prospects for the more than 90,000 Cambodian refugees in Thailand seemed dim. There was no third-country resettlement to speak of and UNHCR's plans for a larger-scale voluntary repatriation program were not bearing fruit.

In January the first breakthrough occurred when France announced its willingness to resettle some 8,000 Cambodian refugees and the Thai authorities concurred with their movement. In April the U.S. announced its readiness to accept those Cambodians who either had close relatives in the U.S., were former employees of the U.S. government, or were closely associated in some way with the U.S.

Some 21,000 Cambodian refugees in Thailand have been identified as provisionally meeting one or more of the U.S.'s criteria and have been moved into a special camp near the Thai-Cambodian border for processing. Their fate, however, is by no means sure. As of this writing, fewer than 20 percent of those who have been interviewed have been approved for admission to the U.S. The remaining 80 percent, regardless of the fact that they meet one or more of the stated criteria, have been rejected by INS as not meeting the definition of a refugee. The claim is that they cannot prove a well-founded fear of persecution if they were to return to Cambodia.

Thus, as of this moment, the agony of Cambodian refugees continues and the final chapter of their saga has yet to be written. ☐

ASIA AND THE PACIFIC

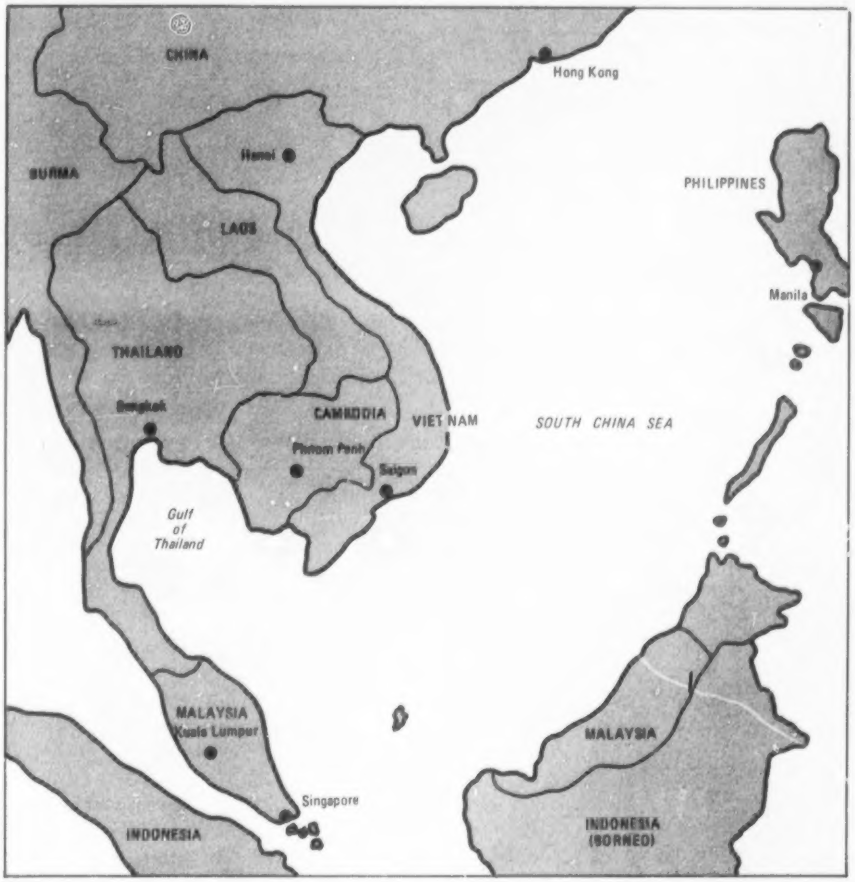
Australia

(14.8 million; almost as large as the 48 U.S. states)

Since World War II Australia has resettled over 400,000 refugees. They have included 170,000 post-war displaced persons from Europe; 14,000 from Hungary (1956); 5,700 from Czechoslovakia (1968); 15,000 Lebanese (1976); a small but steady flow of Eastern Europeans and Soviet Jews; and in recent years, 50,000 Indochinese.

In the year ending June 30, 1981, Australia accepted 23,000, including 15,000 Indochinese and the rest from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

Total cost for Indochinese refugees since 1975 comes to $158 million. Australia contributed to UNHCR, UNRWA, and special efforts to help Afghans and Africans, in 1980 and 1981.



This Indochinese refugee found employment in an Australian migrant center, where refugees stay to learn English and adapt to their new country. UNHCR.

Cambodia

(1981 est.: 8.9 mil.; size of Missouri)

Few countries have endured as much hardship and upheaval as Cambodia in the 1970s. It was first the scene of fighting between U.S.-supported South Vietnamese and the Vietcong; then of fighting by the Cambodian government against an insurgent group, the Khmer Rouge. With the Khmer Rouge victory in 1975 began a seige of terror in which, it is estimated, more than a million Cambodians died. In 1978 the forces of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam invaded and early in 1979 installed a government under its control. Khmer Rouge forces under Pol Pot remain in remote areas of the country, periodically in battle with the Vietnamese, centuries-long enemies of the Cambodians.

The Vietnamese invasion caused hundreds of thousands to flee to Thailand. Because of disruption, the rice harvest was greatly reduced. In 1979-80 world resources were organized to feed the Cambodians. Gradually many of them returned home and in late 1980 a sizable rice crop was harvested.

At the end of 1981 it was estimated that 226,000 Cambodians had returned to their villages from Thailand and its eastern borders. There remained in Thailand 98,000 Cambodian refugees who had hopes of resettlement, and many thousands strung along the border who counted on food from international agencies on the Thai side.

The Royal Thai government does not regard the recent arrivals as refugees, terming them "illegal immigrants." Thais and Cambodians are ancient foes, and the Thai government will not consider reestablishing them in its territory.

International relief efforts in Cambodia continue on a reduced scale from the massive aid efforts of 1980-81.

As of June 1981, a total of 82,000 Cambodians had been resettled abroad, including 48,000 in the United States.

China

(985 million; slightly larger than U.S.)
UNHCR 1981: $9.5 million

Beginning in 1978, Vietnam's harassment of the Chinese minority in the country caused more than 250,000 Chinese in northern Vietnam to journey overland into China as refugees. Numbers now fleeing are reduced approximating 10,000 a year. Recent arrivals include ethnic Vietnamese and members of different minorities, who regard China as a way station to permanent resettlement. All told, about 264,000 refugees from Vietnam have arrived in China. In 1980 China accepted 2,550 refugees of Lao origin from camps in Thailand.

The government selects for resettlement all those it believes genuinely wish to be resettled, who are of Chinese origin and willing to work in agriculture. Dissatisfaction with rural life and hard labor, among urban, middle-class refugees, has created some local social, economic, and political problems.

UNHCR has provided assistance towards local integration of farmers and fishermen. World Food Program provided supplementary food totaling $9.5 million for 18 months. The European Economic Community made available 4,000 tons of rice valued at $1.5 million.

Resettlement from China to third countries is limited to family reunion cases. Up to mid-1981, a total of 327 persons had left for permanent resettlement.

In recent years China has contributed a total of $1 million to refugee relief in Africa; $500,000 for Afghan refugees; and $1.1 million in cash and commodities for refugee relief in Thailand, according to the U.S. coordinator.

Hong Kong

(5 million; 398 sq. mi.)
UNHCR 1981: $6.3 million

Since 1975 Hong Kong has been refuge for 94,000 Vietnamese boat refugees. The boats are still arriving. A few refugees, almost all of Chinese origin, have been permitted to remain. As of mid-1981, 84,000 had been resettled in third countries.

The United Kingdom government of the Crown Colony spent $1.1 million in 1980 for construction and maintenance of camps for boat people.

Indonesia

(148.8 million; 13,000 islands, 735,000 sq. mi.)
UNHCR 1981: $7.8 million

The population of Vietnamese boat people in Indonesia—at one time over 50,000—is now down to 5,500. Resettlement has reduced the number even while new arrivals come to Indonesian shores.

The 5,500 are located on Galang island, 40 miles south of Singapore. They live in a camp while waiting resettlement, near a refugee processing center (RPC), which houses people already accepted for emigration. At the processing center refugees study the language and customs of the country they will live in. On June 30, 1981, the processing center had 6,500 people, who had assembled there from first asylum stays in Thailand, Malaysia, and other countries. The RPC is supported by donations from Japan, Germany, and the U.S.

The Indonesian government does not resettle refugees permanently, citing unemployment, poverty, and friction with the local population. Indonesians on Galang, for example, have complained that refugees in camp live in better conditions than they do.

Tibetans' 23-Year Exile

When China occupied Tibet in 1959, the Dalai Lama, spirtual guide of the Tibetan community, moved to India along with 40,000 refugees. Now there are approximately 85,000 resettled in India. The Tibetans are established in their own communities. They receive no aid, but support themselves through agriculture and handicrafts.

The Dalai Lama and the Chinese government have had exchanges about possible conditions for going back to Tibet, but an early return is considered unlikely. Asylum for Tibetans has been a political factor in Indian-Chinese relations.

The small Kingdom of Bhutan, where 6,000 Tibetans lived, offered them the choice of citizenship or leaving the country. India accepted 1,500 in 1981 and paid for their move; India and Bhutan have appealed for homes for another 1,500, but no resettlement location has been offered.

Another concentration is in Nepal, also between Tibet and India; where 15,000 Tibetans maintain their community identity.

Japan

(117.8 million; slightly smaller than Montana)

Japan has offered to resettle 3,000 Indochinese refugees, and permits refugees picked up at sea to remain in temporary asylum. In mid-1981 a total of 1,400 had been resettled permanently, and 1,600 were in asylum status.

Japan has provided major financial support to the international community's Indochinese refugee relief program, with contributions of over $110 million in 1980, and $10 million for Afghan refugee relief.

Laos

(1981 est.: 3.7 million.; slightly larger than Utah)

Approximately 300,000 people have fled the Lao People's Democratic Republic since it was formed in 1975. Of this total, 265,000 have registered as refugees in Thailand and another 50,000 are estimated to be unregistered in northeast Thailand. The UNHCR office in Vientiane, Laos, estimates that approximately 3,000 people left Laos each month in 1981. After deducting the number who have resettled, 100,000 now live in refugee camps in Thailand.

Refugees from Laos include the lowland Lao and the Hmong, or hill-tribe people, who fought alongside Americans against the North Vietnamese and, as a consequence, have been singled out for harsh treatment.

Malaysia

(14.3 million; slightly larger than New Mexico)
UNHCR 1981: $10.5 million

During the peak of the exodus of boat people from Vietnam in 1979, Malaysia drew the attention of the world when it forced away arriving refugee boats. Western countries, at a conference in Geneva, subsequently pledged to resettle the thousands of refugees flooding into Malaysia and other countries of Southeast Asia. Malaysia withdrew its ban on arrivals.

From 1975 to mid-1981, a total of 159,000 had arrived by boat, 123,000 of them in 1979 alone. And by mid-1981, because of resettlement, only 16,000 Vietnamese remained. More continued to arrive, but in small numbers.

Malaysia has offered permanent resettlement to two groups of their fellow Muslims. Over the past 10 years, 90,000 Filipino Muslims, persecuted in religious strife on the island of Mindanao, have established themselves at Sabah in eastern Malaysia, 400 miles away. UNHCR provides support and has also helped form plans for a permanent rural settlement which would require three to four years and $4-5 million to complete. Malaysia has also resettled 1,800 Khmer Muslims, from Cambodia, who originally found asylum in Thailand.

Australian Refugee Aid Leader Given Nansen Medal

The UNHCR Nansen Medal for outstanding services to refugees was given in 1981 to Major General Paul A. Cullen, president of AUSTCARE, Australia's national refugee aid agency.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees Poul Hartling presented the medal in Geneva on October 12.

Cullen, who became first chairman of AUSTCARE in 1968, has been active on behalf of refugees for 45 years.

AUSTCARE, or "Australians Care for Refugees," supports UN programs in many countries. It has the cooperation of national committees in seven Australian states and the help of countless volunteers. Its latest work has been fundraising for aid to Afghan refugees and providing medical personnel for camps in Pakistan. Working with many other agencies, AUSTCARE also assists in resettlement of refugees.

The medal is named for the Norwegian scholar and explorer Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, a pioneer in the field of international humanitarian aid and first League of Nations high commissioner for refugees.

New Zealand

(3.1 million; size of Colorado)

New Zealand accepted 3,870 refugees from Indochina between 1975 and June 1981. Following World War II, 5,500 were resettled from Europe. Since 1958 the country has accepted handicapped European refugees, whom no one else will accept. Other countries represented among resettled refugees are Indonesia, Hong Kong, China, Uganda, Chile, and the Soviet Union.

New Zealand has budgeted $3 million for 18 months ending June 30, 1982, to pay for resettlement of 1,800 Indochinese refugees. It also contributes to refugee and famine relief through the UN.

Philippines

(48.9 million; slightly larger than Nevada)

UNHCR 1981: $10.7 million

Since April 1975, the Philippines has offered asylum to 22,000 Indochinese refugees, but they are not permitted to resettle. As of mid-1981, 5,000 remained.

A significant contribution made by the Filipino government is a site at Bataan, near Manila Bay, for one of two UNHCR refugee processing centers; the other is on Galang, Indonesia. The center is designed for 17,000 Indochinese refugees from other Asian countries who have already been selected for resettlement. They receive instruction in the language and the culture of their future homeland.

By mid-1981, 45,000 refugees had been at Bataan; 27,000 went to the U.S. and 600 to other countries; 17,000 were then at the center.

Vietnamese boat people seek asylum in the Philippines. UNHCR.

Singapore

(2.4 million; smaller than New York City)

UNHCR 1981: $1.3 million

Singapore accepts refugees from passing vessels, who will be resettled in third countries. Between April 1975 and mid-1981, 24,000 Indochinese had been rescued by ships and left at Singapore. About 3,000 were awaiting resettlement at that time.

Singapore offers the nearest airport to Galang island, 40 miles south, and refugees headed for the refugee processing center there pass through the country.

Taiwan

(18.2 million; size of Maryland and Delaware)

Taiwan is not listed with UN agencies as it is no longer a member. Since 1975 it has resettled approximately 5,000 Chinese from Vietnam. Also, 2,500 students and 4,000 refugees picked up at sea in 1975 were granted permanent residence.

Taiwan permits boat people rescued by passing ships to stay in a transit camp; 1,700 were awaiting resettlement in mid-1981.

Because of security concerns, Taiwan admits only relatives of Taiwan residents.

Thailand

(47 million; three-fourths the size of Texas)

UNHCR 1981: $68 million

Since 1975 UNHCR has provided assistance to more than 570,000 refugees in Thailand, who have fled from Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Peak year of influx was 1979, when thousands of Khmer fled from chaos in Cambodia, joining a large number of boat people arriving from Vietnam.

In 1981 the number of refugees was reduced from 260,000 to about 190,000, through resettlement and repatriation departures. Six refugee centers were closed.

The position of the Thai government is that it cannot absorb any of the arrivals. The country has its own economic problems; in addition some of the refugees are from ethnic groups which are ancient foes of the Thai people, and absorbing them would be impossible.

Local people live under such unfavorable conditions that refugees in camps sometimes have better medical care and food. Aid agencies often provide medical care to the surrounding population, in an effort to reduce tension.

Vietnam

(52 million; size of New Mexico)

UNHCR 1981: $8.4 million

In the peak year of 1979, a total of 205,000 boat people fled from Vietnam, arriving in adjacent countries after voyages of many miles. An unknown but large number perished at sea. World protest and concern resulted in a conference at Geneva in July where governments pledged resettlement places for the Vietnamese and other refugees, from Laos and Cambodia.

To reduce the number risking flight in small, overcrowded, and leaky boats western governments, Vietnam, and UNHCR agreed to an "Orderly Departure Program." People would leave Vietnam directly to join relatives already in resettlement countries.

In 1980, a total of 4,700 people left Vietnam in this way; in 1981, the figure doubled, to 9,800. Similarly, Cambodians who are refugees in Vietnam were allowed to leave. In 1980 the total was 1,900; the next year, 1,400. Cambodians in Vietnam now number 33,000.

Other Countries

Republic of Korea permits boat people picked up at sea to stay in a transit camp near the seaport of Pusan, pending resettlement elsewhere.

A total of 1,600 refugees from boats were still at the camp in the Portuguese colony of **Macau**, near Hong Kong, in mid-1981. All told, 7,000 had been resettled from Macau.

India has 4,200 Afghan refugees and 300 others from various countries. In 1981 UNHCR decided to send staff members to supervise aid there, which was handled by another UN office.

In **Papua New Guinea** there are 1,000 refugees from Irian Jaya, Indonesia, 200 needing assistance. In 1981 it was planned to close the only camp for refugees.

A Cambodian girl will be housed at the Sakaeo refugee camp. UNHCR.

East Timor: 500 More Reported Slaughtered

The six-year ordeal of the population of the Indonesian-dominated island of East Timor is described in documents placed in the Congressional Record *by Sen. Paul Tsongas (D-Mass.) in December.*

A letter from a Catholic Church official estimates that 500 more East Timorese were murdered by the Indonesian military in July, August, and September 1981. A translated version relates a summer military sweep that "seemed as if a cyclone had swept Timor, leaving true tragedy: the death of children of two to three, pregnant women, and defenseless people massacred only because they did not want to lose their identity among the nations of the world. Approximately 500 were accused and killed without hesitation or pity."

Amnesty International reported to the UN in October 1981 that it continues to receive from East Timor "accounts of summary executions and 'disappearances' carried out by Indonesian forces, as well as arbitrary imprisonment." A.I. reported "at least 2,000" prisoners are held on the island of Atauro, off the main island of Timor. For six years prisons have been closed to inspection by neutral humanitarian agencies.

East Timor was annexed by the Indonesian government in 1975, shortly after the departure of the Portuguese government, which had held the island as a colony.

A guerrilla movement grew out of a political party called Fretilin and it tried to resist the Indonesian occupation. Since the Indonesian invasion, the island has been almost totally closed to outside contact. A few American congressmen have had closely supervised tours of the island while on fact-finding missions in the area, but it has remained a tightly sealed society. Most of the indigenous population now lives in a number of large camps set up in coastal areas by the Indonesian military. They have been moved from mountain villages where they were farmers.

The Indonesian military relocated the population so that it would be unable to support the local guerrilla movement with food and shelter. In the process an estimated 200,000-300,000 East Timorese have died from war or famine.

Human-rights activists consider the situation in East Timor one of the most serious and most ignored instances of mass human suffering in the world.

Adapted from an account by Robert Levey, Boston Globe, *December 24, 1981*

Haiti and El Salvador Pose Large Questions

Nina K. Solarz

In 1981 the U.S. government stopped boats at sea to intercept Haitians headed for the shores of Florida.

In 1981 the U.S. government deported about 16,000 people attempting to enter the U.S. from war-torn El Salvador.

Members of each group claim to be refugees—Haitians say they are fleeing an oppressive government, and Salvadorans, persecution and war. But in 1981, as in preceding years, the U.S. government replied in effect: "You are economic migrants, not refugees with a genuine fear of your own government, or of persecution."

Whatever the reality of their claims, the people from these two tiny Caribbean basin countries are linked in the minds of the American people by the tragedies which have surrounded their search for asylum, in unprecedented numbers, in the Western Hemisphere. Their experience demands that the U.S., in particular, and other nations which receive asylum seekers do so in a way which is both judicious and well thought out.

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A country that is the size of Maryland, Haiti occupies the western half of the Caribbean island of Hispaniola; the Dominican Republic fills the other half. Its population of close to 6 million makes it one of the most densely populated countries in Latin America—536 persons per square mile.

Haiti is the poorest country in the hemisphere, with an average annual income of $250 per capita in the city and less than $100 per capita in rural areas. Agricultural productivity, already low, is declining. There is high unemployment in the capital city of Port-Au-Prince and especially in the rural areas and only 22 percent of the population is literate. The Haitian government's apparent disinterest in development has led workers, nearly 800,000 of them in the last 15 years, to travel throughout the Caribbean in search of employment. By 1980, for example, almost 200,000 laborers were in the Dominican Republic, legally or illegally, to harvest sugar cane.

40505
MIAMI • • BEACH

Haitians have sought haven in the U.S.—though now their boats may be interdicted at sea. UPI.

The country, too, has a long history of political instability, corruption, and despotism. The present regime dates from 1957 when Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier was "elected" and subsequently amended the constitution to become "president for life." With help of a repressive police force, the Tontons Macoutes, he maintained power and passed the presidency to his son Jean Claude ("Baby Doc") in 1971. Stemming from these oppressive conditions have been jailings and executions, and the flight of thousands of people.

Over a period of decades, many Haitians have entered the U.S. illegally, often risking a treacherous sea voyage rather than seek refuge in closer-by but depressed neighboring countries. Despite efforts by the Immigration and Naturalization Service to stem the flow of boat people arriving on American shores, it increased steadily between 1972 and 1981. It reached levels of perhaps 6,000 a month in the latter year, bringing the estimated total to 40-50,000.

Claims for asylum in the U.S. reached 55 a day in 1978. Supporters of the Haitians charged that hearings on these claims were slow, cursory, discriminatory, and unfair, and in May 1979 a comprehensive case involving Haitians was filed. In July 1980 Judge James L. King ruled in the case that Haitians had been denied due process of law and were in fact the victims of "systematic and pervasive" discrimination by immigration authorities. He ordered INS to reprocess 5,000 asylum applications in a lawful manner. The King decision gave important support to the contention that Haitians meet the definition of political refugees, as it stated that most had a well-founded fear of persecution if they returned to Haiti.

Just prior to the King decision, the Carter administration announced that all Haitians who were in the U.S. as of June 19, 1980, would be granted the temporary designation of Cuban/Haitian Entrant-Status Pending. The status was later extended to Haitians in the country prior to January 1, 1981, permitting all of these Haitians benefits identical to those available to refugees. Legislation has since been introduced in Congress to allow these entrants to apply for permanent resident status after five years in the U.S., and for citizenship after five years as permanent residents.

Haitians continued to arrive in the U.S. in 1981 and, though many were released to the custody of sponsors, about 2,000 remain in detention centers administered by INS or in federal prisons while they await hearings on their asylum claims. The average stay of Haitians in these facilities, which are crowded and ill equipped, has been one year, according to INS officials, although the average for aliens generally is 120 days. Fewer than five asylum claims by Haitians were approved in FY 81; over 5,000 were pending.

In 1981 new efforts were undertaken to stem the continuing arrivals of Haitians. The Reagan administration asked Congress for authority to interdict Haitian boats at sea and then instituted interdiction procedures in December 1981 by executive agreement with the Haitian government. A U.S. Coast

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Nina K. Solarz is presently executive director of the Citizens' Committee for Immigration Reform. She served previously as director of public affairs for the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy.

Guard cutter, with air support, scouts the sea lanes off Haiti to intercept boats which appear to be carrying would-be migrants. A Haitian naval officer, two INS examiners, and two interpreters are on board the vessel, and the INS officials request travelers to supply documents and prove they are refugees. Unless satisfied that a Haitian is a bona fide refugee with legitimate fear of persecution if returned, he or she is returned to the island country.

Approximately 100 Haitian boats have been turned back since the policy went into effect. But Haitians continue to arrive in Florida, though it is uncertain how many. Statistics from INS show only 67 Haitians arrived in the first three months of 1982, as opposed to 1,561 in a similar period the year before. Florida officials, however, have claimed as many as 200 arrive each week since interdiction started.

Doubts have been raised about the legality of the interdiction policy, and congressional action may be sought by the House and Senate Judiciary Committees in 1982. In the meantime, local and national organizations have expressed increasing concern about the plight of the Haitians and have mounted public education campaigns to bring the issue to the American people.

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The conditions causing people to leave El Salvador are similar to those in Haiti, with the added feature of violent conflict between government and guerrillas. With a population of 5 million, El Salvador is the smallest and most densely populated country in Central America. The average annual income is $700 per capita, and illiteracy rates are 50 percent overall, and as high as 90 percent in the countryside.

A junta which took power through a coup in October 1979 has made certain reforms, including distribution of land to peasants, and U.S.-backed assistance programs have included land reform efforts. But still 1 percent of the population controls 40 percent of the land, and 40 percent of all farm workers are landless.

FLORIDA
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
CUBA
HAITI
BR HONDURAS
CENTRAL AMERICA
EL SALVADOR
COSTA RICA
PANAMA
GUYANA
SURINAM
FRENCH GUIANA
PERU
CHILE
URUGUAY

Salvadoran refugees spend precarious months in Honduras. UNHCR.

Fighting between rebel guerrillas and government forces, which has smouldered for years, grew in intensity during 1980 and 1981. Human rights and Catholic groups say that approximately 30,000 people have died since October 1979, victims of government security forces, right wing "death squads," and action by guerrillas. In 1981 the guerrillas demolished at least 30 major highway bridges and many electric power plants.

Violence, disruption of services and the economy, and threats of assassination have caused hundreds of thousands of Salvadorans to flee their home. Estimates as of February 1, 1982, indicate that there are between 180,000 and 300,000 Salvadorans in various Latin American countries—Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Panama, Mexico, and Nicaragua, primarily—and between 300,000 and 500,000 in the U.S.

A Haitian refugee and his child nap while they wait to be interrogated after arriving at a Coast Guard base in South Florida. UPI.

UNHCR has declared all Salvadorans who have left their country since 1980 to be refugees under a group determination. The U.S. coordinator for refugee affairs, however, citing a history of migration by Salvadoran workers, has concluded that most of the Salvadorans have left "to seek better jobs." Almost 16,000 Salvadorans were subject to deportation in FY 81, and about 4,000 in the next three months. Most were forced to return to El Salvador when their asylum claims were denied; some accepted "voluntary departure," agreeing to waive the right to a deportation hearing and returning to their country at government expense; still others are remanded to detention facilities. As of January 1982, 8,385 asylum applications filed by Salvadorans were pending before INS. By early spring, only eight requests for political asylum had been granted.

Refugees from El Salvador have sought haven in the U.S. and several Latin American nations. UNHCR.

Since May 1980, numerous groups and individuals have sought to stop the deportation of Salvadorans on the grounds that their safety cannot be assured in El Salvador. They have requested that the State Department and INS grant "extended voluntary departure" status to those Salvadorans unable and unwilling to return to their violent homeland. This status can be granted upon the recommendation of the State Department for those who have a "temporary inability to return . . . to their home country because of civil war or catastrophic circumstances there . . ." for periods of six months to a year. During that time, recipients can work, but they are ineligible for any government benefits.

UNHCR indicated that its investigation of U.S. government practices toward Salvadorans found deportation of many Salvadorans to be an apparent violation of the international protocol on the status of refugees.

To the present, however, the State Department has maintained that most Salvadorans have not come to the U.S. solely seeking refuge from the civil war, and the extended voluntary departure status has not been granted.

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The detention and interdiction of Haitians and the deportation of thousands of Salvadorans is unacceptable to a great many Americans. Equally difficult to cope with is the arrival on U.S. shores of large numbers of asylum seekers. But just as the phenomenon of the U.S. as a country of first asylum presents new problems and the need for new initiatives, it also affords new choices. What is needed, many suggest, is a clear, coherent, humane, and race-free policy delineated in advance and carefully implemented.

Among those offering such a suggestion has been the Select Commission for Immigration and Refugee Policy. After exhaustive study and debate on the questions raised by the spectre of large numbers of people arriving, claiming to be refugees, the commission concluded that a first step for the U.S. government should be the creation of an interagency body to develop procedures for handling future emergencies. New procedures to determine the validity of asylum appeals and the use of specially trained asylum admissions officers were also suggested.

Salvadoran children wait for medical assistance at a clinic of "Medecins Sans Frontieres." UNHCR.

Finally, the commission recommended that the U.S. seek international cooperation, including consultations with governments of regional neighbors, to deal with migration and refugee problems.

The work of the commission was terminated in March 1981. The Reagan administration subsequently formed a cabinet-level group to consider the recommendations and submit a plan to Congress. One outcome of the administration's deliberations was the interdiction program aimed at Haitians.

In March 1982 a bi-partisan measure to overhaul the immigration law was introduced by Sen. Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.) and Rep. Romano L. Mazzoli (D-Ky.), heads of the immigration subcommittees in each house. The bill would provide for 70 administrative law judges to hear the large backlog of asylum claims and deportation cases, and would forbid judicial review of claims denied. However, an alien in detention could still challenge on constitutional grounds by seeking a writ of habeas corpus.

In Honduras refugees who are seriously ill receive medical treatment at "El Refugio." UNHCR.

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Whatever legislation is adopted, U.S. policymakers need to bear in mind the example it will set for other nations. Interdiction of Haitians at sea, for example, may seriously undercut the protests the U.S. has made in the past of the rejection of Vietnamese boat people in Southeast Asia by countries where they arrive. If the U.S. policy allows unjust and unjustifiable practices, what might be expected of other nations with fewer resources and many more citizens who resent the arrival of newcomers, even those fleeing from oppression?

There are no easy answers and no quick-fix solutions to the problems raised by Haiti and El Salvador, but there are reasonable policy alternatives which should be pursued.

With careful advance planning, the horrors of the Haitian experience and the misfortunes of the Salvadorans' situation could be mitigated and future disasters avoided. There are no easy answers and no quick-fix solutions to the problems raised by these two, and many other refugee situations, but there are reasonable policy alternatives which should be pursued in the name of justice, fairness, and decency. ☐

Latin America and the Caribbean

Argentina

(28.2 milion; 4 times the size of Texas)

UNHCR 1981: $3.5 million

Since 1976 a military government has controlled Argentina, and its security forces have rounded up terrorists and others they consider subversive. Prisoners from these sweeps, held without trial or conviction, may choose exile in another country. Since 1974, according to the U.S. coordinator, the government has reported that 889 such prisoners have been allowed this option, about which there are many restrictions. Of 300 prisoners qualified to enter the U.S. since 1979, only 55 have been able to travel to the U.S.

The UNHCR total of refugees from other countries remained at 26,000 in 1981, including 20,000 from Europe, 5,000 from Latin America, and 1,300 resettled from Indochina.

Costa Rica

(2.3 million; smaller than West Virginia)

UNHCR 1981: $3.8 million

Costa Rica traditionally has been a country of refuge. UNHCR reports 13,000 refugees, with 10,000 from El Salvador and the rest from other Latin American countries. The U.S. coordinator reports an estimated 5-12,000 people were not officially registered as refugees.

Another sizeable group consists of several hundred former National Guardsmen from Nicaragua, now mostly self-supporting.

In recent years there has been an influx of Nicaraguans (now mostly repatriated), Salvadorans, and Cubans. The political and security burden of these new arrivals is a matter of increasing concern to the government of Costa Rica, notes the U.S. coordinator.

Based on evidence of political activism by refugees, terrorist incidents linked to Salvadoran insurgents, and indications that Costa Rica may have been used for arms shipments and coordination of guerrilla activities, the public security ministry in March 1981 began expelling Salvadoran, Guatemalan, and other refugees who had violated their status through political and other prohibited activity.

Guatemalan widow and her children seek refuge in Mexico. UNHCR.

Most Salvadorans are peasants in extreme poverty; they are not permitted to work in Costa Rica, and are ineligible for public medical care. Their children cannot attend public schools. Since early return home seems unlikely, more durable solutions have been planned by UNHCR, including establishment of a model farm as a reception center and rural settlement for Salvadoran refugees.

Cuba

(9.8 million; nearly as large as Pennsylvania)

Over one million Cubans left their homeland between the revolution in 1959 and the start of the 1980 boatlift. Approximately 850,000 came to the U.S. as refugees. The rest went to other countries, principally Venezuela and Spain. From 1973 to 1978 Cubans were not permitted to leave their island homeland.

Under changed U.S. policy in 1979, admission of Cubans became part of regular immigration, with refugee slots for specific groups such as present and former political prisoners. Under this procedure, some 9,800 were admitted as refugees in 1979/80. But beginning in April 1980, the massive influx of over 125,000 undocumented Cubans coming by small boat from the port of Mariel put off plans to admit additional numbers.

Since the end of the boatlift, some Cubans have been permitted to leave for third countries. Most of the migrants consider these countries to be way stations on the route to the U.S.

Notes the U.S. coordinator, although no precise information is available, Cuba is known to have provided refuge in the past 20 years to many thousands of dissidents from nearly all countries in the hemisphere.

UNHCR Helps to Start Small Enterprises

The 1980 allocation was increased to $229,000 to meet the needs of individual refugees in Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Panama. Measures included job placement, the establishment of small businesses such as groceries, tailoring workshops, restaurants, etc.; accommodation; education or vocational training; and medical treatment. . . In the Dominican Republic, beneficiaries were Haitian refugees, while elsewhere assistance mainly concerned those from the southern cone of South America.

—UNHCR report to the General Assembly, 1981

El Salvador

See pp. 29-32.

Guatemala

(7.5 million; the size of Tennessee)

A repressive regime has forced many to leave Guatemala for refuge elsewhere, including the U.S. Here, the reception has often been the same as for many Salvadorans—deportation.

U.S. coordinator estimates that "as many as 300-400 may leave in FY 81, because they have received threats or otherwise consider themselves vulnerable to political persecution, terrorist attack, or retaliation."

But, as in the case of El Salvador, the U.S. coordinator attributes the flight of many more Guatemalans to seeking improved economic opportunity, including an estimated 70,000 in Mexico alone.

UNHCR reported 50-100,000 refugees from El Salvador in Guatemala, although the government has no formal program for assisting or resettling refugees.

Haiti

See pp. 29-32.

Honduras

(3.7 million; slightly larger than Tennessee)

UNHCR 1981: $3 million

During 1979 and 1980 Honduras provided asylum to an estimated 75,000 refugees from Nicaragua and El Salvador. Of an estimated 50,000 Nicaraguans, about 1,000 were granted permanent residence.

In mid-1981, an estimated 20,000 from El Salvador were in Honduras.

Political impact of the refugees is hard to gauge, reports the U.S. coordinator. Some hostility lingers from the time prior to the 1969 war between El Salvador and Honduras, when there were over 300,000 Salvadorans in Honduras. The government has been willing to accept the refugees and ensure their care so long as they are confined to border areas and are not permanently resettled. UNHCR is absorbing costs. In 1980, 300 Salvadorans in Honduras were resettled in Panama.

Mexico

(69.3 million; three times the size of Texas)

UNHCR 1981: $2.5 million

Mexico has a long tradition of providing asylum to political refugees, including Turkish Jews in the 1920s, Spanish Republicans in the 1930s, and anti-Castro Cubans, Chileans, Argentines, Uruguayans and others from Central and South America. During the past three years, thousands from El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Guatemala have been allowed to stay.

The government in 1980 established a commission to work with UNHCR in assisting, training, and resettling Salvadoran refugees, most of whom have congregated in Mexico City. UNHCR will contribute $2.5 million. The Guatemalans are located largely along the border, where they are "engaged in agriculture," reports the U.S. coordinator.

The coordinator reports, "As many as 140,000 Salvadorans and Guatemalans may be in Mexico." UNHCR reports 70-140,000 Salvadoran refugees.

Noting Mexico's unemployment, poverty, and inflation, the coordinator states, "The new wave of refugees constitutes an economic burden and may cause a hardening of Mexico's traditional welcoming attitude."

Nicaragua

(2.5 million; slightly larger than Wisconsin)

UNHCR September 1980–December 1981: $1.2 million

The civil war of 1978-79 inflicted great damage. In 1980 UNHCR reported: "150,000 were killed or wounded, some 100,000 sought refuge outside the country and half a million were forced to abandon their homes." Estimated expense to reconstruct the damage was $580 million.

UNHCR spent $5.5 million on aid to repatriated refugees and internally displaced people. Funding came from a special appeal whose principal contributors were Germany and the three Scandinavian countries.

An estimated 30-40,000 Nicaraguans have since left the country or remain on foreign soil, including supporters of deposed dictator Somoza and anti-Somoza members of the middle class, who were dissatisfied with policies of the victorious Sandinista movement.

Salvadorans are estimated to number 20,000. The government provides them with work documents and accords them treatment essentially like that enjoyed by Nicaraguan citizens. UNHCR provides direct assistance for 5,000.

Other Countries

Small numbers of Salvadoran refugees are in **Belize** (formerly British Honduras), where UNHCR reports 7,000, and **Panama**, which has 1,000 plus another 500 from other countries.

UNHCR also reports that in the **Dominican Republic**, 5,000 Haitians have refugee status. □

Miskito Indians Flee Into Honduras

Thousands of Miskito Indians fled from Nicaragua into Honduras in 1981 and 1982. By April a total of 6,700 were receiving care from UNHCR. Thousands more were reported in government camps in Nicaragua.

The Miskito Indians live in northeast Nicaragua along the Atlantic coast. They use English rather than Spanish as a second language, and many are Protestant Christians. The Sandanista government said it wanted the Indians to integrate into the life of the country. Indians made claims to minority rights from the new government. Several sources reported the government forcibly moved thousands of Indians, executing several of them, slaughtering cattle, and burning villages.

According to the U.S. State Department, the villages were destroyed to make way for new military bases, including runways to accommodate Soviet-made fighter planes.

One group of Miskitos has aligned with right-wing military efforts to harass the Sandanistas from Honduras.

Europe — An Anxious Year

Mary C. Spillane

Although the much larger refugee problems in Pakistan, Southeast Asia, and Africa are the focus of more international attention, the European continent continues to experience substantial movements of people within its borders and from many other regions of the world. Political turmoil in Poland, Afghanistan, Iraq, and Ethiopia has generated hundreds of thousands of refugees in the past year alone, many of whom have sought haven in Austria or West Germany. In efforts to provide judicious and humane assistance to refugees, western nations continue to provide asylum and resettlement opportunities, while calling for increased international participation in finding solutions for refugees.

• • •

The task of identifying actual refugee caseloads by location in Europe is a vexing one, since countries and international organizations vary in how they count and deal with asylum seekers. European countries by and large adhere to the 1951 Convention Regarding the Status of Refugees and the UN protocol of 1968, agreeing to protect refugees while they go through asylum proceedings, and not to expel anyone having a legitimate fear of returning home. Some governments, however, qualify their responsibilities for financial and political reasons. Some only recognize refugees of European origin; some do not provide temporary shelter or support; others limit their assistance to refugees to a very brief duration.

Nevertheless, it is evident that 1981 asylum seekers represented considerable variety—West Germany's applicants came from 100 different countries—as well as significant increases over previous years. More than 230,000 sought asylum in western Europe; Austria's caseload quadrupled in the course of the year to over 40,000.

Deteriorating economic conditions may alter the traditional tolerance of European nations for refugees.

The numbers of individuals officially requesting protection as refugees is only part of the European picture. According to a UN High Commissioner for Refugees official, the number of displaced people (potential asylum seekers) may be double the current number. Oldrich Haselman, regional chief for Europe and the Americas, suggests that there may be 500,000 Poles alone in Europe outside their homeland. They and others may hesitate to request asylum because they hope, eventually, to return home, or because they fear their claims may be rejected: between 1978 and 1981, 80 percent of processed applications in West Germany were denied. But virtually all continue to live there, pending appeal of their cases, a U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs report notes. "Rejected asylum seekers tend to use all possible legal recourse to appeal their cases and only a few are expected to leave."

Deteriorating economic conditions may alter the traditional tolerance of European nations for refugees, both those seeking temporary haven and those needing permanent resettlement. In fact, the U.S. coordinator notes, in large West German cities where there are already significant numbers of Greek, Turkish, and Yugoslav guestworkers, "there is a strong generalized sentiment against accepting any more immigrants and refugees."

Polish children wait in an Austrian refugee center. UNHCR.

In such an ambivalent context, then, western nations in 1981-82 responded to an evolving refugee crisis with caution and confusion. The West watched as mounting political tensions coupled with the severe economic hardships of daily life led many Poles to leave Poland in the spring of 1981. Others followed over the summer and fall, producing record flows before the end of the year: by the time of the imposition of martial law on December 13, when internment, a ban on strikes and union activity, and summary justice were introduced, as many as half a million Poles were thought to be outside their homeland.

Governments and international relief organizations were thwarted in their efforts to obtain accurate counts, however. A major difficulty was the reticence of many Poles to come forward and apply for asylum—they preferred to wait and see how events developed back home. Thousands were helped by friends or managed on their own resources while they assessed the likelihood and the desirability of repatriation.

Those who did request asylum, during most of 1981, were generally considered economic refugees looking for better lives somewhere in the West. Officials found it difficult to rationalize the emergence of new political, religious, and other freedoms the previous year with refugees' assertions that they suffered or feared persecution. The U.S., for example, rebuffed almost 74 percent of Polish applications for refugee status, stating that the claims did not meet its criteria: the Poles were motivated by reasons other than fear of persecution.

Mary Spillane is a London-based consultant on refugee affairs and policy.

The military crackdown at the end of the year, however, clearly presented new and serious threats, and rendered arguments about economic motives for fleeing the country largely moot.

The military crackdown in Poland rendered arguments about economic motives for fleeing the country largely moot.

By late 1981 Austria, particularly hard hit by the Polish refugee tide, was actively requesting assistance from the international community to resettle refugees. At the turn of the year, Austria's refugee centers were stretched to capacity and over 600 pensions around the country were in use to handle the overflow of cases. The Austrian taxpayers were bearing a sizable bill—$66 million—for the refugees. But the financial strain, not insignificant for this nation of 7 million people, was of less concern to the Austrians than the worry about accommodating additional refugees—Poles and others—they felt certain would trek the long, and often hazardous, sojourn to asylum.

Despite pleas by Austria and UNHCR for increased resettlement opportunities for Poles, response by other western nations was cautious. Most governments expressed the preference that the majority of Poles return to Poland, if and when restrictions were lifted. The concern that increased immigration opportunities would "pull" Poles, unnecessarily and unjustifiably, out of Poland caused nations to be reluctant to open the door for significant numbers.

Pressures on Austria, however, did encourage other nations to speed their review of applications for refugee status from Poles. And by spring 1982 the situation, while not resolved, had eased somewhat. The dilemma posed by the Polish refugee situation, however, caused some observers to suggest that the international community needs to be better prepared to deal with complex refugee issues and inevitable refugee flows. The spectre of new refugee arrivals and the frequent uncertainty of the potential for repatriation means that other viable alternatives will still be required.

• • •

The growing numbers of refugees in Europe from Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, and other non-European countries over the past two years have created practical and largely bureaucratic problems. Some countries do not consider such "other" refugees eligible for assistance nor their responsibility under the UN convention. Italy, for example, will not shelter non-European asylum seekers in its refugee centers, thus forcing them to turn to black market jobs or to live off their own resources until they are granted admission to the U.S. or other western countries.

By the close of 1981, non-European refugees accounted for 20 percent of the cases awaiting admission to the U.S. from Europe—almost 8,000 in total. This figure matched the entire quota for refugees from the Near East and Africa, where thousands were also seeking admission. U.S. officials have sought to contain migration by refugees between continents, since such movement makes it difficult for UNHCR and host governments to assure their protection. In early 1982 the Department of State implemented procedures to stop further processing of African refugees from centers in Europe. The policy seeks, further, to provide equitable treatment under regional admissions procedures for all eligible applicants: African refugees who file in Europe should not have an advantage over those who file in Africa in being considered for admission to the U.S.

If a refugee applies for admission to the U.S. in Khartoum, instead of Vienna or Rome, his chances should not be prejudiced.

Although the policy is an attempt at equity, it means the future is uncertain for thousands of refugees who await admission from Europe today. The new policy does not exempt individuals who filed before it was implemented. And even for these who meet U.S. criteria, admission may not be possible this year, since some regional quotas are already oversubscribed. For many, the only way to the U.S. may be to rejoin the long queues in an asylum country in their home region where they began their quest.

• • •

Historically, countries of western Europe and North America have taken the lead role in providing for the international institutions which care for refugees. Except for Yugoslavia, no eastern European country contributes to UN refugee assistance: the industrialized democracies provide the initiative and the majority of the funds which operate UNHCR, the UN Fund for Palestian refugees, and the variety of other governmental and nongovernmental efforts.

Governments of these countries now stress the need to assist refugees where they are, pending eventual repatriation. When it comes to refugees on their own territory, governments with large numbers of asylum claims hope that resettlement offers will come from other countries which want the skills or labor of the asylum seekers.

As long as western European countries can afford to have aliens not recognized as refugees within their borders, they will allow them to remain. Danger for these people could come with further deterioration of economic conditions. Older Europeans recall the hard times of the 1930s which generally were much more difficult for refugees than for citizens with rights and benefits. As history shows, the hostility of unemployed and dissatisfied people can be directed towards refugees or others with backgrounds different from the majority. Such eventualities are in minds of policymakers as western European governments deal with those who seek asylum. ☐

Europe and North America

Austria

(7.5 million; slightly smaller than Maine)

UNHCR 1981: $466,000

Austria is country of first asylum for many refugees from Eastern Europe, in 1981 especially from Poland and Czechoslovakia. According to the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration, some 43,000—mostly Poles—remained in Austria at the end of 1981, despite special efforts to speed their resettlement. Of the total, 23,000 were receiving care and maintenance from the Austrian government.

Facilities such as Traiskirchen Reception Center were overcrowded in late 1981-82, necessitating use of tourist lodgings. The cost of care for transient refugees was escalating and had become a burden for the Austrian government.

Another role of Austria is as transit point for Soviet Jewish emigres going to third countries, a movement which has slowed because of tension between the U.S. and U.S.S.R.

Austria has accepted for resettlement many thousands of Indochinese and Eastern Europeans.

Belgium

(10 million; slightly larger than Maryland)

UNHCR 1981: $301,000

Many of the 33,000 refugees UNHCR lists in Belgium have lived there a long time. An estimated 1,000 or more are naturalized each year Belgium has accepted 4,400 Indochinese refugees.

Denmark

(5 million; size of Massachusetts and New Hampshire)

Denmark has established an annual quota of 500 refugee admissions. Refugees receive the same social services as Danish citizens; care in 1980 cost $16 million. Denmark offers generous support to UN aid efforts, ranking fourth in 1980 on a per capita basis.

France

(53.7 million; 4/5th the size of Texas)

UNHCR 1981: $846,000

Historically France has been a leading country of asylum. In part because of its former colonial ties, France has resettled 76,000 from Indochina since 1975, the fourth highest total in the world.

NORWAY
SWEDEN
North Sea
SCOTLAND
DENMARK
IRELAND
NETHERLANDS
ENGLAND
U.S.S.R.
ATLANTIC OCEAN
GERMANY
POLAND
BELGIUM
LUXEMBURG
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
FRANCE
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
SWITZERLAND
ROMANIA
YUGOSLAVIA
Black Sea
PORTUGAL
SPAIN
CORSICA
ITALY
BULGARIA
ALBANIA
SARDINA
GREECE
TURKEY
SICILY
CRETE
Mediterranean Sea

Migrants From the USSR: Pawns to Reward and Punish?

After a decade in which nearly 260,000 Jews were allowed to leave the Soviet Union, the government has reduced Jewish emigration to a trickle.

Thousands of Soviet Jews had applied to leave, then been fired from their jobs or demoted. Their children have been barred from better universities and technical institutions.

"Numbers of Jews permitted to emigrate are declining," said a respected figure in Moscow's Jewish community. "Emigration has almost stopped. We can speculate that they are trying to stimulate American Jewry to put pressure on the administration for a more flexible policy toward the Soviet Union."

The preponderance of evidence suggests that the Kremlin regards Jews and other ethnic groups with relatives in the West largely as political pawns, to be dealt with as a way of rewarding and punishing selected Western countries, depending on their attitudes toward the Soviet Union.

Armenian emigration to the U.S., for instance, has virtually halted.

The flow of ethnic Germans to West Germany, on the other hand, declined during most of 1981, then surged in December, immediately after President Leonid I. Brezhnev's November conference in Bonn with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, a meeting that Soviet officials considered highly successful.

The decline in the number of visas granted to Jewish applicants began in the summer of 1979, about the time Moscow apparently concluded that the U.S. Senate would never ratify the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty.

The slide accelerated when the Carter administration imposed a partial embargo on grain sales to the Soviet Union and other sanctions after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Robert Gillette, Los Angeles Times
January 1982

UNHCR shows a total of 150,000 refugees living in France, which includes the resettled Indochinese refugees.

The present government has announced an increase in admissions of Indochinese refugees to 1,500 per month, from the previous 700 figure.

Germany (Federal Republic of)

(61.5 million; size of Oregon)
UNHCR 1981: $1 million

West Germany has received large numbers of ethnic Germans from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Approximately 8 million Germans came from Poland alone, after World War II.

The presence of 4.5 million "guest workers" from other countries has turned public opinion against accepting more immigrants, including refugees.

Since 1978 a total of 192,000 non-Germans have sought asylum in West Germany, states the U.S. coordinator. Authorities have challenged most applicants, noting motives are often more economic than political. Of 86,000 cases processed, 69,000 have been rejected, but the individuals remain, with their cases on appeal.

A total of 18,800 Indochinese have been accepted for permanent resettlement, as well as several hundred refugees from Latin America.

Greece

(9.5 million; size of New York)
UNHCR 1981: $493,000

Approximately 3,000 refugees are in temporary asylum status in Greece, with the majority expecting to move on to other countries for resettlement. Greece plans to resettle 200 Indochinese refugees, though there is resistance from citizens who argue that Greeks who desire to return from exile in Eastern Europe should be considered first.

Italy

(57 million; slightly larger than Arizona)
UNHCR 1981: $493,000

Italy, a country of emigration, does not encourage refugee resettlement. In addition to an estimated 14,000 refugees on their way to resettlement elsewhere, Italy has an estimated 600-700,000 foreigners, many residing there illegally. Most are from North Africa and South America.

Many refugees bound for the U.S. stay temporarily while their documents are prepared at an immigration processing center in Rome.

Finding a job in their new country is a first step toward integration of refugees in Switzerland. UNHCR.

The Netherlands

(14 million; size of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island)

The Netherlands has absorbed thousands of residents of Surinam since its independence in 1975. About 1,800 refugees per year have been accepted in recent years, mostly from Indochina; many have been picked up by Dutch flag vessels.

Norway

(4 million; similar to New Mexico)

Since World War II, 8,000 refugees have resettled in Norway. In 1980 the country accepted 900, including 756 from Indochina. Norway spent 1.03 percent of its gross national product on international relief assistance programs in 1980. Cost of resettlement was estimated at $10 million for 1981. Norway's refugee aid contribution in 1980 was $3.71 per capita, a level second only to that of Sweden.

Portugal

(9.9 million; slightly smaller than Indiana)
UNHCR 1981: $1 million

Since 1975 Portugal has absorbed 500-700,000 colonists from former possessions which became independent. Unemployment has been a difficult problem among the returnees.

Six hundred refugees arrived in 1980, a similar number was expected in 1981. As of June 1981, refugees totaled 7,000, with 5,670 from Angola, 630 from Mozambique, and 700 from other countries.

Soviet Union

(267 million; nearly 2½ times the U.S.)

In the 1960s the Soviet government began to permit emigration of members of certain ethnic groups. The flow increased in the 1970s, limited mostly to ethnic Germans, Jews, and Armenians applying to go to West Germany, Israel, or the U.S.

As relations between the U.S. and U.S.S.R. over the 1979 invasion of Afghanistan grew strained, the Soviet Union cut back departures. In 1978, 129,000 Soviet Jews emigrated; in 1979, 51,000; in 1980, 21,000.

The U.S. has made provision for admission of 20,000 Soviet Jews in FY 82.

Spain

(37 million; size of Colorado and Wyoming)

UNHCR 1981: $1.8 million

By tradition, Spain has been a land of refuge for Latin Americans. Since the mid-1960s some 150,000 Cubans have passed through en route to the U.S.

Spain also provides asylum and resettlement opportunities. UNHCR reports 40,000 refugees, "broadly defined," in Spain. The breakdown includes 15-20,000 Argentines; 5,000 Uruguayans; 5-6,000 from Equatorial Guinea; 1,000 Cubans; and a small number from other Latin American countries and Eastern Europe. Spain also has 10,000 asylees, reports the U.S. coordinator.

Sweden

(8.3 million; larger than California)

The resettlement quota in recent years has been 1,250. All told 55,000 have resettled over three decades. Sweden gives generously to international relief efforts, with $110 million planned for 1981. For 1980 its contribution of $3.98 per capita to UN refugee aid efforts was the highest level in the world.

Switzerland

(6.3 million; size of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island)

As of December 1980, there were about 40,000 permanently resettled refugees in Switzerland, including 13,000 Czechs; 8,000 Hungarians; 7,000 Indochinese; 4,000 other Eastern Europeans; 2,200 Latin Americans; and 1,000 Tibetans. Approximately 15 percent are sick and disabled.

Yugoslavia

(22 million; size of Wyoming)

UNHCR 1981: $793,000

Yugoslavia allows generally free emigration, and accepts a few exiles each year, chiefly from Albania. Approximately 2,000 refugees are now in Yugoslavia.

United Kingdom

(56 million; slightly smaller than Oregon)

UNHCR 1981: $484,000

It is estimated that more than 160,000 persons have found refuge in the U.K. since 1945. Among them are people from all continents, including about 15,000 Indochinese. Britain guarantees resettlement of Vietnamese boat people picked up by merchant ships of the British flag. Economic and housing problems make it unlikely that the U.K. will resettle large numbers of new refugees.

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Canada

(24 million; slightly larger than the 50 U.S. states)

Canada has resettled over 400,000 people from many countries since the end of World War II. Priority is placed on family reunification, people fleeing persecution and war-torn areas, and persons with special needs, such as the handicapped and unaccompanied adolescents.

Since 1975 Canada has resettled about 80,000 Indochinese refugees, making the country one of the top four in acceptance, with the U.S., China, and France. The federal government, the provinces, and private organizations work together. Half of the resettled families and individuals in 1979 and 1980 were sponsored by more than 7,000 private organizations.

The focus shifted in 1981 to more admissions from Eastern Europe, Latin America, and Africa. Total resettlement in 1981 was projected at 21,000.

The approximate total cost of refugee care, maintenance, and resettlement in 1980 was $63 million. Canada contributed $25 million to international refugee relief programs in 1980.

United States of America

(226 million)

The U.S. is by far the largest contributor to organizations assisting refugees, although on a per capita basis it is exceeded by certain western European countries. The U.S. also leads in total number of refugees resettled. Depending on definitions, its rank on a per capita basis varies from third to fifth.

In FY 81, ending September 30, 1981, the U.S. admitted 154,000. refugees, although 217,000 openings were authorized. Thirty-five thousand fewer Indochinese and 19,000 fewer Soviet Jews than authorized actually arrived in the U.S Admissions from the Near East, Africa, and Latin America were also below the allowable numbers.

Proposed admissions for FY 82 are 140,000. A comment appended in the report to Congress of the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs notes: "It is understood that this is a ceiling and not a goal and that to the extent possible, consistent with needs and objectives, the program will be managed to admit fewer than the authorized ceiling."

The U.S. during 1981 developed a new policy of "interdiction" at sea by Coast Guard vessels in an attempt to stem the flow of boat people leaving Haiti and, presumably, bound for the Florida coast.

Congressional committees worked during the year to devise new means of dealing with illegal aliens, present in large numbers from Central American and Caribbean countries. ☐

Refugees From Eastern Europe

Yugoslavia allows generally free emigration. The other Eastern European countries are restrictive in theory, though they vary in practice.

The U.S. coordinator estimated the following numbers of Eastern Europeans who would seek refuge in FY 81 (ending 9/30/81), from various countries: Bulgaria 1,000; Czechoslovakia 10-20,000; Hungary 3-4,000; Romania 5,000. The estimate for Poland of legal departures, mainly for work abroad, was quoted from "official sources" as 1 million, with many expected to remain in the West.

The U.S. maintains a separate total of immigration visas for refugees from Eastern Europe. For FY 82 the figure was set at 11,000. The number for the Soviet Union is 20,000 though the government clampdown on exit visas for Soviet Jews makes it unlikely this total will be reached.

1982 World Statistics

The World's Refugees

The Most Significant Refugee Situations

2.6 million from Afghanistan, in Pakistan
1.9 million Palestinians, in six areas
700,000 from Ethiopia, in Somalia
350,000 from Ethiopia, in Sudan
250,000 from El Salvador, in six countries
235,000 from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, in many areas

Africa

COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	NUMBER
ALGERIA Western Sahara, various	65,000
ANGOLA Zaire, Namibia, South Africa	73,000
BOTSWANA Angola, Namibia, South Africa	1,500
BURUNDI Rwanda	55,000
CAMEROON Chad	20,000
CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC Chad	5,000
DJIBOUTI Ethiopia	30,000
EGYPT Various	5,500
ETHIOPIA Sudan	11,000
KENYA Ethiopia, Rwanda, Uganda, Various	3,900
LESOTHO South Africa, various	11,000
NIGERIA Chad	40,000
RWANDA Burundi, Uganda	10,000
SENEGAL Various	4,000
SOMALIA Ethiopia	700,000
SUDAN Ethiopia, Uganda, Chad, Zaire	500,000
SWAZILAND South Africa	5,700
TANZANIA Burundi, Zaire	156,000
UGANDA Rwanda, Zaire	113,000
ZAIRE Angola, Uganda, Zambia	370,000
ZAMBIA Angola, Namibia, various	42,000
OTHER COUNTRIES	30,000
Africa TOTAL	**2,251,600**

Asia

COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	NUMBER
AUSTRALIA Various	304,000
BHUTAN Tibet	1,500
CHINA Southeast Asia	265,000
HONG KONG Vietnam	14,000
INDIA Afghanistan, various	3,300
INDONESIA Vietnam	6,000
JAPAN Vietnam	1,800
LAOS Cambodia	3,800
MACAO Vietnam	1,200
MALAYSIA Philippines, Vietnam, Cambodia	99,000
NEPAL Tibet	11,000
NEW ZEALAND Various	10,000
PAPUA NEW GUINEA Indonesia	1,000
PHILIPPINES Vietnam	6,600
SINGAPORE Vietnam	500
THAILAND Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia	193,000
VIETNAM Cambodia	33,000
Asia TOTAL	**954,700**

Europe

COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	NUMBER
AUSTRIA Eastern Europe	43,000
BELGIUM Various	33,000
DENMARK Various	1,800
FRANCE Various	150,000
GERMANY (FRG) Various	94,000
GREECE Various	3,800
ITALY Various	14,000
NETHERLANDS Various	12,000
NORWAY Various	6,000
PORTUGAL Africa, Latin America	7,600
ROMANIA Chile	1,000
SPAIN Latin America, Southeast Asia	40,000
SWEDEN Various	20,000
SWITZERLAND Various	37,000
UNITED KINGDOM Various	148,000
YUGOSLAVIA Various	2,000
Europe TOTAL	**613,200**

Latin America

COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	NUMBER
ARGENTINA Europe, Latin America, Southeast Asia	26,000
BELIZE El Salvador	7,000
BOLIVIA Europe, Latin America	500
BRAZIL Europe, Latin America	24,000
CHILE Europe	1,500
COLOMBIA Latin America	2,000
COSTA RICA El Salvador, Latin America	13,000
CUBA Latin America	3,000
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC Haiti	3,800
ECUADOR Various	700
GUATEMALA El Salvador	50-100,000
HONDURAS El Salvador, Nicaragua (Miskito Indians), Guatemala	25,000
MEXICO El Salvador	70-140,000
NICARAGUA El Salvador	20,000
PANAMA El Salvador	1,000
PERU Europe, Latin America	1,500
URUGUAY Europe, Latin America	1,700
VENEZUELA Europe, Latin America	18,000
Latin America TOTAL	**268,700-388,700**

North America

COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	NUMBER
CANADA Various	338,000
U.S. Various	849,000
North America TOTAL	**1,187,000**

Middle East

COUNTRY OF ASYLUM	NUMBER
IRAN Afghanistan, Kurds, Iraq	110,000
LEBANON	3,200
PAKISTAN Afghanistan	2,600,000
PALESTINIAN REFUGEES	1,884,000
Jordan	733,000
West Bank	334,000
Ganza Strip	370,000
Lebanon	232,000
Syria	215,000
OTHER COUNTRIES	40,000
Middle East TOTAL	**4,637,200**

Refugee Totals

Africa	2,251,600
Asia	954,700
Europe	613,200
Latin America (high estimate)	388,700
Middle East	4,637,200
North America	1,187,000
TOTAL	**10,032,400**

Internally Displaced

Persons displaced within their homeland by civil strife or persecution share many of the characteristic of refugees who cross an international border, although internally displaced are not offered international protection as refugees. The numbers in this table should be considered estimates, as precise figures are not available. Information is lacking for certain areas, for example Iran where large numbers are assumed to be affected by the war with Iraq.

AFRICA	
Angola	50,000
Chad	100,000
Ethiopia	150,000
Kenya	10,000
Mozambique	50,000
Somalia	150,000
Uganda	50,000
SUBTOTAL	**560,000**
ASIA	
Cambodia	234,000
SUBTOTAL	**234,000**
MIDDLE EAST	
Cyprus	200,000
Lebanon	50,000
SUBTOTAL	**250,000**
LATIN AMERICA	
El Salvador	183,000
SUBTOTAL	**183,000**
TOTAL	**1,227,000**

Counting the World's Refugees

Reports of refugees in countries include both those who are settled and those who still require a durable solution.

Precise figures on refugees who have been resettled are not readily available — the table "Resettlement of Indochinese Refugees, April 1975 — December 31, 1981" presents some for one group of refugees.

Virtually all refugees reported in North America and Australia are resettled. Many reported in western Europe and Latin America have been accepted for permanent residence. In some African countries, for example Sudan and Tanzania, substantial numbers of the refugees reported are "settled in place." The 265,000 reported in China are resettled there.

Of the 10 million refugees reported, then, perhaps one-quarter have found a durable solution in a country of asylum.

(See p. 62 for references to sources of statistics.)

Durable Solutions

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees terms three outcomes "durable solutions" for a refugee—voluntary return home, or repatriation; settlement in place; and resettlement in a third country. The figures here show repatriation over a seven year period, and resettlement of Indochinese refugees, by far the largest group to be resettled in the same period. Figures for settlement in place are not readily available, as such a "solution" usually occurs over time.

Voluntary Repatriation
1975–81: 1.7 million

To Guinea Bissau, 1975	45,000
To Angola, 1975	300,000
To Mozambique, 1975	84,000
To Zaire from Angola, 1978	150,000
To Burma from Bangladesh, 1978	200,000
To Nicaragua from various countries, 1979	100,000
To Angola from Zaire, 1979	50,000
To Equatorial Guinea from various countries, 1979	30,000
To Uganda from various countries, 1979	30,000
To Cambodia from Thailand, Vietnam, Laos, 1979-80	310,000
To Laos from Thailand, 1979-81	10,000
To Zimbabwe from various countries, 1980	250,000
To Chad from various countries, 1981-2	150,000
TOTAL	**1,709,000**

Resettlement of Indochinese Refugees
April 1975–December 31, 1981

U.S.	567,000
China	266,000
France	83,600
Canada	81,500
Australia	59,400
Germany (FRG)	21,500
U.K.	16,000
Switzerland	9,100
Belgium	5,000
Netherlands	4,800
New Zealand	4,200
Norway	3,100
Italy	3,000
Sweden	2,500
Denmark	2,400
Argentina	1,300
Other	18,200
TOTAL	**1,148,600**

Seeking Permanent Solutions for Refugees

Dennis Gallagher and Gary Rubin

Although refugee status affords international protection and an identity, of sorts, to individuals, it is generally agreed that the status ought to be a temporary one. There should be no delay in the identification of permanent solutions for individual refugees and large-scale populations on the move. For an individual, an extended period as a refugee could impede resumption of a normal life. Large numbers of refugees over long periods of time could overburden the assistance network and raise costs to the system.

Although these dangers are recognized, the capacity of refugee assistance agencies to find permanent solutions for people who come under their aegis may be limited. The nightmare that no one wants to repeat is the Palestinian situation, in which people continue in a "temporary status" for decades and new generations grow up in camp settings. Yet, since the number of the world's refugees easily exceeds current repatriation or resettlement opportunities, long-term refugee operations threaten to become a regular feature of the international scene. If this happens nations might become reluctant to admit people in flight, drastically reducing asylum opportunities in a turbulent world.

Four approaches could provide permanent solutions for current refugee populations. The two most often discussed and implemented at present are repatriation and third country resettlement. Some attention is now turning to schemes of assistance to non-industrialized locations where large numbers of refugees have been received, that is, forms of traditional development aid to be used to help refugees. Finally, improvements of conditions in the countries which produce sizeable emigrations must also be considered in discussing any long-term strategies to resolve refugee situations. Each of these approaches presents special problems, but also opportunities which ought to be understood and enhanced.

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There is wide consensus that repatriation, where possible, is the best resolution to the problems of political exiles. Those individuals able to go back to their homelands can avoid the painful transitions that other refugees face. Moreover, they may have family or community resources available to aid them socially and economically upon their return.

Yet repatriation also is the most difficult and, for many refugees, the least likely solution. People in such opposition to their governments that they feel compelled to flee will be very reluctant to return to conditions they consider oppressive. It is hard to imagine, for example, refugees from recent bitter struggles in Afghanistan, Cuba, Southeast Asia, or Iran electing to go back as long as present regimes remain in place.

The fine distinction between repatriation and deportation, too, is a difficult issue which requires scrutiny. An asylum country might decide that conditions in a refugee group's homeland have improved sufficiently to allow for its members' safe return. Acting upon this belief, it may withdraw legal residence for this population and insist that they go back. Asylum seekers, however, may disagree with this assessment and continue to fear persecution upon re-entry. Such a situation is flaring up in the U.S. now, as the American government has begun to terminate temporary parole for some groups, such as Ethiopians, that request continued refuge. Who decides when repatriation will take place and under what circumstances remains a key question.

As long as rulers who created suppression retain power, serious obstacles will remain to repatriation as the principal permanent solution for refugee crises.

The hope of repatriation may affect the treatment accorded to certain migrant groups, and these effects also need to be examined. Many Cambodians who have fled to Thailand, for example, have not been deemed eligible for resettlement in third countries, in part because some entertain the notion that they will eventually return to their homeland. Others see this as fostering false expectations and prolonging unnecessarily the stay of this population in camp settings: an unrealistic assessment of the possibility of repatriation, they maintain, is delaying the identification of permanent solutions for this group.

Because of the appeal and the dangers of repatriation, close scrutiny by UNHCR and others of this approach to resolving refugee situations is necessary.

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Third country resettlement is a primary mechanism currently for resolving refugee crises. Discussions of how to respond to world upheavals frequently focus on estimates of the reception capacities of key nations. The Southeast Asian emigration emergency of the late 1970s, for example, sparked a Geneva conference, convened to encourage pledges by various countries to accept significant numbers of migrants from that region. In the Western Hemisphere, assessments of ways to deal with flows emanating from Haiti have been transmuted into debates over whether the U.S. should grant asylum to this population.

This focus on resettlement raises two issues. First, since receiving nations increasingly feel that their ability to absorb new populations cannot keep pace with new forced migration emergencies, alternative means for handling mass flows must be devised. On the other hand, third country reception will, of necessity, continue to be a major part of the international refugee system, and performance of this activity must be assessed and enhanced.

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This article is excerpted from a planning paper prepared by the authors for the Refugee Policy Group.

A survey of refugee resettlement throughout the world would reveal much diversity in programs designed to receive and assimilate newcomers. The U.S., for example, stresses private sector involvement in reception and sponsorship and carries out placement within the general community, while Europeans opt for publicly supported welcoming centers. While these various efforts aim at accomplishing similar tasks, it is infrequent that nations share their experiences. Enhanced communication about resettlement would serve several purposes. In the U.S., where front-end loading (provision of major training and language services at the onset of refugees' residence in a new setting) has been much discussed, practitioners would learn from colleagues in Europe, where early intensive orientation and instruction are carried out in reception centers. Conversely, it would be valuable for Europeans to observe the generation of support for refugee efforts in the U.S. through the private sector activities of voluntary agencies, religious institutions, and public interest groups. Both national and transnational efforts are needed which make programmatic improvements and sustain public interest and support for refugee resettlement.

There is little likelihood that present demand for asylum can be accommodated within the limits of resettlement and repatriation.

While greater sharing of information among countries might enhance their resettlement performance and encourage them to accept refugees, efforts must also be made to induce nations that have not yet taken refugees in significant numbers to do so. One strategy to explore would tie development assistance or international credit programs to reception of refugees. This would provide tangible incentives to less industrialized nations to participate in global rescue efforts. Countries seeking populations to help develop their resources may welcome this opportunity. It may prove difficult to coordinate refugee and foreign aid institutions, and this approach may not open large numbers of new slots for resettlement. But it would broaden the scope of international activity for refugees and provide some relief for countries receiving the bulk of current population transfers.

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International support for traditional modes of dealing with forced migrants, including third country resettlement and repatriation, must continue. But there is little likelihood that present demand for asylum can be accommodated within the limits of these solutions. Current realities require that initiatives tie refugee assistance to development plans in first asylum countries. Since many refugees will neither return home nor gain acceptance into new host nations, opportunities must be created where they reside now that benefit them and their places of refuge.

The idea of refugee programs tied to development planning is not a new one. The UN has worked on a Fund for Durable Solutions, although interest in the world community has been less than passionate. More concretely, current operations of voluntary agencies in certain refugee camps provide models for this approach. In Africa, for example, refugees are working in hospital and clinical construction, road building, farming, and reforestation. These and similar efforts in Indochina demonstrate the feasibility of relating refugee assistance to local improvements and rural development.

Incorporating large refugee populations in first asylum locations through development projects will require that international monetary and investment institutions become active in refugee affairs.

Incorporating large refugee populations in first asylum locations through development projects will require that international monetary and investment institutions become active in refugee affairs. While some have moved in this direction, significant reorientation on their part is still needed if they are to participate on an adequate scale. Major institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and UNDP would need to adjust their priorities and funding categories to take refugee problems into account; such change occurs slowly, if at all, in such structures. National agencies with a development mandate, such as U.S.AID, have begun to look at refugee programs, but not yet on the scale necessary for real progress. Furthermore, obstacles to mixing refugee and development assistance would need to be overcome, and more effective working relationships between refugee and development organizations would be required.

A rural development project helps Salvadoran refugees in Panama reach self-sufficiency. UNHCR.

It is crucial that public discussion on this issue be encouraged now, when development organizations are beginning to consider the part of refugees in their operations, so that the views of all interested parties can be presented as decisions are being made.

While significant development programs, funded by international investment agencies, are necessary in devising solutions for refugees in first asylum countries, several cautions must be observed. The relationship between the host and refugee populations may be an impediment, either because of political incompatibilities, as in the Palestinian situation, or because of a long history of ethnic and cultural conflict, as in some Southeast Asian locations. In addition, the motives of the developing nation must be considered; some may want to accept new peoples not because of their potential economic or cultural contributions, but in order to place them in a buffer area along a hostile border. Further, as in any development program, ecological factors must be taken into account in refugee assistance efforts. The balance of nature in some African communities, for example, has been seriously impacted by large groups of new migrants. Care must also be taken that the initiatives bring benefits to indigenous populations as well as to refugees, or sharp resentments may be generated. Finally, development approaches may be expensive—though the human and economic costs of ignoring permanent solutions would probably be higher.

In any major development program, the potential role of multi-national corporations must be taken into account. These might serve three useful functions in refugee programs. First, labor-intensive industries could create the jobs necessary for large refugee populations to be included in development plans. Second, technical expertise to local officials in planning, budgeting, and financial analysis could be provided. Third, since the corporations would have a real interest in maintaining stability in their areas of operation, they might be willing to help in handling refugee movements.

On the other hand, as critics point out, corporate activity in many countries has had the net effect of displacing labor and often has not been well integrated into local economies, making the situation worse for indigenous populations and decreasing nations' capacities to absorb new flows. Still, much development opportunity is potentially available through the corporate sphere. It may be feasible to structure tax, insurance, and financial inducements in such a way as to encourage socially beneficial outcomes from private ventures. This remains an extremely complex topic, with numerous possibilities for both benefit and harm, and deserves greater study.

Development assistance, as an approach to resolving refugee problems, remains an extremely complex topic, with numerous possibilities for both benefit and harm, and deserves greater study.

Development in place, then, is emerging as a key requirement for dealing with the type of massive forced migrations that characterize the modern world. As even a cursory review demonstrates, it involves tremendous complexities, with the potential either to provide realistic solutions for refugees and their hosts, or, if handled badly, to aggravate their plight and bring confusion and instability to receiving societies. Interest in this strategy is now growing, both within the refugee community and, possibly to a lesser extent, in development agencies.

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Any consideration of permanent solutions must include not only provisions for reception and development, but also programs to address the root causes of refugee streams. Many nations that produce outflows suffer from grinding poverty that forms a major component, along with official repression, of emigration pressure. Significant relief programs aimed at these countries would ease shortages of food, commodities, and employment, and decrease discontent to the point where regimes feel they may not have to impose such rigid controls on their populations. Either of these outcomes would lessen propensities to migrate.

Careful consideration must be given, however, to the provision of assistance to refugee-producing nations. The wisdom of granting significant aid to regimes that oppress their populations, display inability to maintain civil order, or seem unable to address economic discontent is at best questionable. Money poured into those nations could be lost due to inefficiency or corruption, and never reach the people it is intended to help, or it may free up cash for authorities to use in oppressive actions. Certainly, any economic program must view carefully the activities its resources will support.

Any consideration of permanent solutions must include not only provisions for reception and development, but also programs to address the root causes of refugee streams.

Various other tactics have been proposed for dealing with nations that produce refugee outflows. Some suggest direct representations to governments aimed at inducing or forcing them to terminate policies that spark emigration. Such activities would include international diplomatic pressure; offers of aid only if certain conditions are met; or, most severe but also hardest to organize, the imposition by several countries of economic sanctions.

Others suggest more subtle methods, for example, tariff reductions or orderly marketing arrangements for goods produced in labor-intensive industries. The only way for rulers to benefit from these offers would be to encourage economic enterprise that employs large segments of the population, thus reducing one incentive to move elsewhere. This scheme has numerous complications, among them a potentially negative effect on the country offering trade advantages, since products they would have exported would be manufactured in the recipient country and available there at lower cost.

Addressing the sources of refugee flows, then, is both a difficult and crucial issue. Trade-offs must be considered between aiding general populations and punishing repressive regimes, and between achieving the international goal of stemming migration by shoring up foreign economies and the domestic aim of preserving employment by keeping job opportunities in the home country. □

Protecting the World's Refugees

Poul Hartling

The brutal uprooting of many millions of people has often been brushed aside by historians as an inevitable consequence of the march of events. But just as man repeatedly has forced his fellow human beings into the recesses of exile, he has equally come to recognize that the problem of refugees represents a responsibility that must, by its very nature, be shared by the whole of what we have come to label "the international community."

Fridtjof Nansen, the first high commissioner for refugees under the League of Nations, was the great pioneer. In the 1920s, he set the international machinery in motion in defense of the legitimate rights of the world's refugees.

Since 1951, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has built on Nansen's and his successors' achievements, assuming its functions as the focus of this collective responsibility. Its specific tasks are to provide international protection to refugees and to seek lasting solutions to their problems through voluntary repatriation, local integration, or resettlement in third countries.

Over the intervening years a body of international law has developed, designed to ensure that refugees enjoy and indeed are entitled to a number of fundamental rights. Two stand out above the rest. The first is that of sanctuary or asylum from persecution. Second, and closely related, is the principle of non-refoulement whereby a refugee must not be forcibly returned to his country, or anywhere else, where he has well-founded reasons to persecution.

While efforts continue, in other international bodies, to tackle the root causes of refugee situations, UNHCR is entrusted with the humanitarian task of protecting the rights of the refugees and helping them build a new existence.

Recent discussions in the UNHCR Executive Committee have centered on the question of temporary asylum or refuge, guided by the identification of a number of minimum standards for the treatment of refugees and asylum-seekers who have been admitted only temporarily pending the attainment of durable solutions to their predicament.

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While the parameters of international refugee law are gradually expanding to encompass new problems, the year 1981 has been marked by some disquieting trends; the fundamental principle of asylum has not always been observed. Many asylum-seekers have been turned away or been subjected to violence in their flight from persecution or strife. Meanwhile, stories on abductions and the disappearance of refugees, as well as attacks on their camps, have become all too familiar.

UN High Commissioner for Refugees Poul Hartling receives 1981 Nobel Peace Prize, presented by Chairman of the Nobel Committee Professor J. Sanness. UNHCR.

UNHCR 1981: Year of the Nobel Peace Prize

"The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees is a bridge linking the world community conceived as a community of States and the world community conceived as a community of men and women. We have a duty to the refugees, and this is a duty to ourselves and the very basis of our own existence."

In these words the president of the Nobel Peace Prize Committee, Professor John Senness, described the refugeee agency as it was given the 1981 award in Oslo on December 10.

"We receive the peace prize in Alfred Nobel's spirit," responded High Commissioner Poul Hartling. "Just as the event today stimulates and encourages us, we hope that it will make people and nations understand that refugees are fellow beings and that peace and freedom can only exist if they also include them."

The prize in 1981 was the fourth given specifically for aid to refugees. Three years after it began operation, UNHCR was chosen in 1954. Fridtjof Nansen, appointed first high commissioner for refugees by the League of Nations in 1921, was honored in 1922. After his death in 1930 the League of Nations entrusted protection of refugees to the Nansen International Office for Refugees, which was awarded the peace prize in 1938.

At Oslo in 1981 High Commissioner Hartling announced that the $180,000 stipend which accompanies the prize award would be used to create a fund for disabled refugees.

Poul Hartling has served as UN high commissioner for refugees since January 1978. A Dane, he was a professor of theology, and prime minister of Denmark from 1973 to 1975.

Returnees from Mozambique arrive at the frontier. As repatriation concludes, UNHCR assists in the reintegration of returnees and displaced persons. UNHCR.

These distressing developments should not, however, allow us to overlook the achievements. With the dramatic increase in the numbers of people forced to flee their countries, the international community has for the most part acquitted its responsibility admirably. In particular the developing countries, where the vast majority of the world's uprooted are to be found, have responded with a generosity and compassion not withstanding their own desperate lack of resources. As the scope of UNHCR's programs has expanded, governments and the public-at-large have helped to meet the growing demands made on them for financial contributions.

Meanwhile, an extensive international network, made up of voluntary agencies, governmental organs, and intergovernmental bodies, has evolved to assist refugees around the world. This support is central to the attainment of durable solutions to refugee situations, which is always the ultimate goal.

Of the different options available, voluntary repatriation remains the best. In 1981, UNHCR concluded an operation providing for the initial settlement and rehabilitation of 650,000 Zimbabweans. For returnees to Ethiopia from surrounding countries, the office is launching a program of assistance towards their return home and initial rehabilitation. Meanwhile, UNHCR's operation for the voluntary repatriation of Chadians is almost accomplished, having helped more than 150,000 refugees return to their own country.

In Southeast Asia, the return of refugees to Laos is underway and negotiations are taking place in Bangkok and Phnom Penh to ensure the safe voluntary return and integration of further groups of Cambodians.

Repatriation is not, unfortunately, the automatic result of all efforts made to help refugees. In Pakistan, Somalia, Southeast Asia, and Central America, millions of refugees await an end to their ordeal. Wherever they are, the overriding objective is not just to provide the refugees with the basics of food and shelter, but to restore them to a dignified life that is so often lost in fleeing, and to allow them to care for themselves and their children.

The awarding of the 1981 Nobel Peace Prize to UNHCR bore witness to the fact that the voices of the refugees have been heard. It was also clear confirmation that the world continues to focus on their plight and is committed to helping them. It was a vindication of human solidarity and a cause for hope for the future. □

International Organizations Continue to Aid Refugees

The various international organizations which provide assistance to migrants, or needy or stricken populations also play a large role in assisting refugees.

One of these, the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration, marked its thirtieth year of operation in 1981 with a ceremony at its Geneva headquarters. The organization was recognized for its humanitarian aid and service in the socioeconomic advancement of developing countires.

ICM resettles both refugees and other migrants whose movement is arranged by receiving countries. In July 1981 the organization moved its 3 millionth, a Columbian physician who returned to his country from West Germany under ICM's "return-of-talent" program.

For the year 1981 the movement total was 205,500, the third consecutive year over the 200,000 mark. The people involved—predominantly refugees—included 159,000 Indochinese; 24,500 Eastern Europeans; 12,000 from Africa and the Middle East; 4,500 Latin Americans; and 5,500 Western Europeans.

Included also were 3,000 migrants and returnees who were assisted to professional positions in developing countries of Latin America. More than half were Latin Americans who had gained training and experience in industrialized countries in Western Europe and the U.S. and decided to return to their homeland or region.

Movement in 1982 is projected to include 192,000 refugees and national migrants.

ICM held seminars in 1981 on problems of migrant and refugee women (Geneva, April) and transfer of technology through talent (Panama City, May). It provides research and recruitment services for developing countries seeking to fill manpower shortages through planned migration, and conducts language training classes for migrants at locations in Europe and Asia.

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The UN agency set up to care for Palestinian refugees exists under difficult conditions of gunfire and continual lack of money.

In 1950 United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East began its job—caring then for about 750,000 Arabs who had fled from Palestine, the land which became the state of Israel. The number is now 1.9 million, as the third generation grows up in Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, the West Bank (now occupied by Israel), and the Gaza Strip. About 35 percent live in 61 camps.

UNRWA's biggest responsibility has proven to be education, on which it spends 54 percent of its hard-won money. All told 321,000 pupils are enrolled, the number having grown steadily from about 50,000 three decades before. The annual report of Commissioner General Olof Rydbeck tells of warfare interrupting classes, especially in southern Lebanon and Beirut where schools lost up to 50 days in 1980/1.

UNRWA also offers health services and food supplies for needy refugees. Its budget for 1980/1 was $239 million and the figure for 1981/2 is $266 million.

In his annual report, Rydbeck pleaded with the General Assembly to adopt a systematic way of funding the agency's work, rather than have it rely on voluntary contributions. Early in 1981, he wrote that he feared bankruptcy.

UNRWA was established as a temporary organ but its mandate has been renewed periodically and now extends to June 30, 1984. It provides services for registered Palestinian refugees, defined as "persons or descendants of persons whose normal residence was Palestine for a minimum of two years preceding the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948 and who, as a result of that conflict, lost *both* their homes and their livelihood."

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The United Nations Children's Fund assists children and women of the entire population of many impoverished countries. In 1981 Executive Director James P. Grant said emergency measures were required to help a total of 20 million people in nine African countries. Of these 3 million had the designation of refugee, and another 3 million were "internally displaced." The remaining millions were "otherwise affected—by drought, civil war, political chaos, and mass influx of refugees." UNICEF is also a lead agency in assistance for Kampuchea.

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ICM provides transportation to refugees to their new home. ICM.

The World Food Program, a part of the Food and Agriculture Organization, distributes grain and other foods to destitute populations, including refugees. In 1981 it handled $109 million worth of needed food aid for refugees in many parts of the world.

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Voluntary Agencies: The diverse contributions of various international and national voluntary agencies are difficult to compile. In its 1980 report UNHCR notes that voluntary organizations gave $23.6 million to UNHCR programs, in addition to commodities and expert personnel. In two nations where extensive relief is offered, voluntary agency presence is considerable: in Thailand 52 voluntary agencies are working and in Somalia there are 27 with a staff of 260.

(Information about many international organizations may be found in the Directory of Organizations in this **Survey**.) □

Which Countries Help?

The responsibility for care and, where it applies, resettlement of refugees is assumed by a variety of countries, large and small. Most of the large contributors are industrialized democracies in Europe, North America, and Asia. Others are oil-rich states of the Middle East whose contributions go chiefly to UNRWA which cares for Palestinian refugees.

In 1981, $822 million was given to the four major refugee assistance agencies, as follows:

U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees	$428 million
U.N. Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East	182 million
Intergovernmental Committee for Migration	103 million
U.N. World Food Program (refugees)	109 million
	$822 million

The U.S. contributed the largest amount, 41 percent of that given to the agencies, followed by Japan (see Table 1).

On a per capita basis, the oil-producing state of Qatar, with a population of only 200,000 tops the list. Two other oil-producing countries are in the top six—Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. Norway, Sweden and Denmark are also in the top group (see Table 2).

The country statistics do not reflect the donations by the European Community. The EC gave nearly $90 million, or 11 percent of the $822 million, most of it in foodstuffs. The reporting method does not permit individual allocation of this figure to the ten members of the EC (Belgium, Denmark, France, West Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, United Kingdom).

The burden of assistance to refugees rests heavily on countries of first asylum. More than 80 countries have sizeable refugee populations. The arrival of refugees often causes serious economic, political, and social problems for the country of first asylum, whose resources are often limited. As shown in Table 3, refugees are concentrated in poorer countries. The eight countries with the largest numbers have gross national product figures of $1,100 or less.

Finally, an important measure of assistance is the resettlement of those refugees who need new homes. In recent years the main index has been the acceptance of refugees from Southeast Asia. Since 1975, a total of 1,148,600 refugees have gone to new homes from various countries of first asylum in Southeast Asia. They include Vietnamese, Lao, Hmong hill people from Laos, Cambodians, and ethnic Chinese from all three countries.

As shown in Table 4, the top resettlement countries on a per capita basis are Australia, Canada, U.S., France, and Switzerland. China has received 266,000 ethnic Chinese refugees who had lived for generations in Vietnam; this total is second only to that of the U.S.—567,000.

Sharing the burden of refugee assistance is an important principle of international cooperation. As ICM Director James L. Carlin has commented, "It is dangerous to allow the feeling to spread that the United States and a few other countries are paying too much. Public interest can be sustained only if there is convincing evidence that the burden is shared." The per capita figures give perspective on the significance of contributions by all nations.

Table 1

1981 Contributions to International Refugee Aid Agencies

Top 20 Countries, Ranked by Total Contribution

Country	Contributions* (In Millions)
U.S.	$338.9
Japan	63.1
Saudi Arabia	37.2
Germany (FRG)	36.4
Australia	33.5
Sweden	31.8
U.K.	26.7
Canada	25.0
Norway	16.8
Netherlands	12.4
Denmark	11.6
Switzerland	9.7
Belgium	5.6
Italy	5.0
France	4.7
Libya	4.3
Kuwait	4.1
Iraq	3.5
Nigeria	3.1
China	2.0
EC (European Community)	$ 89.9

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*1981 amounts were reported by UN High Commissioner for Refugees, UN Relief and Works Agency, Intergovernmental Committee for Migration, and World Food Program.

Contributions reported by ICM include all contributions to the organization's administrative and operational budget.

Figures are not available for donations to WFP through the regular program and bilateral donations. The total used, $109.2 million, is made up of contributions in-kind and cash to the International Emergency Food Reserve. $43.5 million could not be attributed to individual governments. Contributing this amount were: Finland, France, Norway, Algeria, Sweden, Belgium, Switzerland, U.S., Greece, Netherlands, Austria.

The European Community's contribution represents 11 percent of the total. The individual contribution of each of the ten member countries in the EC could not be identified.

Table 2: 1981 Contributions to International Refugee Aid Agencies—Top 20 Countries, Ranked by Contribution per Capita

Country	Population (In Millions)	Contribution (In Millions of $)*	Contribution Per Capita	Gross National Product Per Capita
Qatar	.2	$ 1.6	$8.05	$16,590
Norway	4.1	16.8	4.10	10,710
Sweden	8.3	31.9	3.84	11,920
Saudi Arabia	10.4	37.2	3.58	7,370
Kuwait	1.4	4.1	2.96	17,270
Denmark	5.1	11.6	2.27	11,900
Australia	14.8	33.5	2.26	9,100
Switzerland	6.3	9.7	1.53	14,240
U.S.	229.8	338.9	1.47	10,820
Libya	3.1	4.3	1.39	8,210
Liechtenstein	0.03	34.1	1.14	11,300
Canada	24.1	25.0	1.04	9,650
Netherlands	14.2	12.4	.88	10,240
United Arab Emirates	1.0	0.8	.80	15,590
Germany (FRG)	61.3	36.4	.59	11,730
Belgium	9.9	5.6	.56	10,890
Japan	117.8	63.1	.54	8,800
U.K.	55.9	26.7	.48	6,340
Luxembourg	0.4	0.2	.45	12,820
Finland	4.8	1.8	.38	8,260

Iceland, Ireland, Iraq, Jordan—$.21 to $.30 per capita

New Zealand, San Marino, Bahrain—$.11 to $.20 per capita

Bahamas, Austria, France, Greece, Italy, Malta, Monaco, Portugal, Spain, Israel, Lebanon, Oman, Syria—$.02 to $.10 per capita

53 countries including Argentina, Chile, Panama, Uruguay, Singapore, Cyprus—$.01 per capita or less

*1981 amounts reported by UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), UN Relief and Works Agency, Intergovernmental Committee for Migration and World Food Program.

Table 3: 1981 Ratio of Refugees to Local Population—Top 20 Countries

Country	Population (In Millions)	Refugees	Ratio of Refugees to Local Population	Gross National Product Per Capita
Somalia	3.8	700,000	1:5	$ 130
Jordan	3.3	733,000	1:5	1,180
Lebanon	3.2	235,200	1:14	1,030
Djibouti	.5	30,000	1:17	420
Belize	.2	7,000	1:29	1,030
Pakistan	88.9	2,600,000	1:34	270
Sudan	19.6	500,000	1:39	370
Syria	9.3	215,000	1:43	1,070
Australia	14.8	304,000	1:49	9,100
Burundi	4.2	55,000	1:76	180
Zaire	30.1	370,000	1:81	260
Angola	6.7	73,000	1:92	440
Swaziland	.6	5,700	1:105	650
Guatemala	7.5	50-100,000	1:113	1,020
Tanzania	19.2	156,000	1:123	270
Uganda	14.1	113,000	1:125	290
Nicaragua	2.5	20,000	1:125	660
Lesotho	1.4	11,000	1:127	340
Zambia	6.0	42,000	1:143	510
Malaysia	14.3	99,000	1:144	1,320

Table 4: Seven-Year Indochinese Refugee Totals—Top 15 Countries, Ranked by Ratio of Refugees to Population—1975-81

Country	Population (In Millions)	7-Year Total of Indochinese	Ratio of Refugees to Population
Australia	14.8	59,400	1: 249
Canada	24.1	81,500	1: 296
U.S.	229.8	567,000	1: 405
France	53.7	83,600	1: 642
Switzerland	6.3	9,100	1: 692
New Zealand	3.2	4,200	1: 762
Norway	4.1	3,100	1: 1,323
Belgium	9.9	5,000	1: 1,980
Denmark	5.1	2,400	1: 2,125
Germany (FRG)	61.3	21,500	1: 2,851
Netherlands	14.2	4,800	1: 2,958
Sweden	8.3	2,500	1: 3,320
U.K.	55.9	16,000	1: 3,494
China	1,027.0	266,000	1: 3,860
Italy	57.0	3,000	1: 19,000

Total resettled in all countries 1,148,600

Managing Domestic Resettlement in the U.S.

Charles Royer and Jesse Bunch

In 1979 and 1980, the U.S. Congress debated whether advance planning and anticipation of refugee crises in the world could improve the nation's contribution to international and domestic humanitarian responses. The answer is contained in the Refugee Act of 1980, Public Law 96-212, the first comprehensive attempt to set national policy and administrative procedures for assistance to refugees. The law states that "the objectives of this act are to provide a permanent and systematic procedure for the admission to this country of refugees of special humanitarian concern to the United States, and to provide comprehensive and uniform provisions for the effective resettlement and absorption of those refugees who are admitted."

To meet these objectives, the law calls for consultations between Congress and representatives of the executive branch, and among federal, state, and local governments, and private agencies.

We have now witnessed these consultations for fiscal years 1981 and 1982, under both the Carter and Reagan administrations. Further, we have two years of experience with other provisions of the Refugee Act. It may be too early to assess fully the effectiveness of the consultation process and other aspects of the new law. However, from the perspectives of a local government much involved in refugee resettlement and a private organization concerned with the national resettlement program, we will discuss our observations to date and offer some recommendations.

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Two forms of consultation are required in the Refugee Act. The first is in-person discussions between designated cabinet-level representatives of the president and members of the House and Senate Judiciary Committees. The second is regular discussion by the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs and the director of the Office of Refugee Resettlement with states, localities, and private nonprofit voluntary agencies concerning the sponsorship process and the intended distribution of refugees.

The congressional consultation process as it has been carried out has provoked some criticism. It has been called too inflexible to deal with emergent refugee crises; leading toward the setting of absolute numerical quotas; obtrusive in delicate international negotiating situations; and too susceptible to internal political pressures. Still, most observers recognize that the congressional consultations have brought order, coherence, and accountability where previously these were lacking.

Before passage of the Refugee Act, for example, the administration often found it necessary to go to Congress several times during a fiscal year to request authorization for additional refugee admissions and appropriation of additional funds. This was as inefficient as it was irritating to congressional committees. Data and analysis were scarce, and the lack of an overall strategy which addressed humanitarian and foreign policy considerations regarding refugee issues in different parts of the world was sorely felt.

Close consultation by Congress with states about numbers of refugees to be admitted has not taken place; nor is there detailed understanding of the impact on localities of resettled refugees.

By requiring in-depth analysis by the executive branch and coordination among numerous participants—the State Department, the intelligence community, our embassies overseas, the Department of Justice and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Department of Health and Human Services, and other federal and private agencies—the process has encouraged anticipation and planning. The planning provides for more careful consideration of our contributions to and cooperative actions with other countries and international organizations. It provides a public place to debate consistent application of our humanitarian principles. The process also requires that information be shared among interested congressional committees and staff. Thus we find that the congressional consultations over the past two years have brought improved planning and analysis to consideration of annual refugee admissions.

Unfortunately, the congressional consultations have not dealt sufficiently with matters of pressing concern to local communities. Meaningful consultation by the Congress and the administration with states about numbers of refugees to be admitted to each state has not occurred; nor is there detailed understanding of the impact on localities of resettled refugees. The FY 82 consultation process, for example, continued to focus on admissions levels at a time when the major practical problems, at least from our perspective, pertained to recent arrivals and community impact: more than 371,000 refugees arrived in the U.S. in 1980-81, many of whom have significant need for attention, including temporary income assistance, English language training, and employment services.

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This flaw in the congressional consultation process has been compounded by the fact that the discussions by federal agencies with states and localities, also called for by the Refugee Act, have been erratic and crisis oriented, and have poorly

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reflected local communities' experience and ability to cope. Too often federal decision-making has proceeded without contributions by those with firsthand experience with refugees and their immediate needs—critical data in order to make improved placement, management, and programmatic decisions.

This has led to problems for refugees and their communities. Refugees arriving in the U.S. over the past decade differ dramatically in the experience, skills, and education they bring to their new home. Many of the more recently arrived refugees have come from agrarian living, and their work skills have not necessarily been transferable to an urban environment. Many come from cultures which lack a written language. They require more extensive orientation and support systems to assist them toward self-sufficiency than were required in the period 1975-7.

At the same time, cities and local communities differ in their ability to absorb refugees into the local economies and ways of life. The amount and types of employment available in a given geographic area will have a major influence on refugees' ability to find work. In Washington State, for example, with some 31,000 Indochinese refugees (the third largest such population in the nation) the unemployment rate is nearly 13 percent, making it extremely difficult for refugees to find jobs.

Whereas the congressional consultations have improved the quality of decision-making regarding refugee admissions, failure to initiate equally demanding consultations with states and communities has prevented parallel management improvements in the domestic program.

The absence of a domestic consultation and planning process which takes these issues into account needs to be remedied to prevent further deterioration of the foundations required for refugees to become fully contributing members of society. Whereas the congressional consultations have improved the quality of decision-making regarding refugee admissions, failure to initiate equally demanding domestic consultations with states and communities has prevented parallel management improvement in the domestic program. These problems, coupled with the absence of a national resettlement policy, have contributed to numerous failures of the domestic resettlement program in FY 81 and 82. For example, lack of result-oriented data has encouraged the Office of Management and Budget to withhold critical social service dollars from impacted states and communities, ignoring both the increased numbers of eligible refugees, and the barriers to self-sufficiency which are experienced by the most recent arrivals.

Further, analysis of alternate financial maintenance strategies has not been accomplished as encouraged in the Refugee Act, and there has been no serious analysis of the need to separate eligibilities for cash assistance from medical assistance.

Employment opportunities for refugees resettled in some U.S. communities may be limited. UNHCR.

Still other problems have been encountered. The Department of Health and Human Services seriously underestimated cash and medical assistance expenditures in their planning for the FY 82 budget. This led the department to change its reimbursement policy to states in mid-fiscal year. The change will have dramatic effect on refugees and their communities in several states: thousands of refugees will be terminated from this aid when the new policy is implemented and there is widespread concern regarding the refugees' basic needs. Despair, dislocation, and personal tragedies may result.

Unstable and, in many cases, insufficient funding and the erratic allocation of federal aid threatens to cause state and local officials to oppose continued refugee arrivals in their communities. In Washington and other states, social service funds for refugees were sharply cut during FY 82. As these funds are used to support English language, employment training, and other services designed to help refugees become self-sufficient, such cuts make it extremely difficult for refugees to develop the skills they need.

Without federal reimbursement of actual costs incurred, costs for refugee services will be transferred to states and localities in such a way that competition and tensions within communities could increase. Such costs magnify the burden on communities which are receptive to refugees, but which suffer from already reduced capacity to offer human service programs due to across-the-board cutbacks in domestic programs.

The absence of domestic planning, too, makes it extremely difficult for voluntary and public agencies at the local level to avoid duplicative service activities. The unwillingness of federal agencies to give financial support and leadership to encourage planning and cooperation between states and volags gives rise to serious inefficiencies, and may, in fact, be undermining the emergence of a stable, competent public/private partnership in domestic resettlement. For, although it is the expressed policy of the U.S. to achieve resettlement primarily through the voluntary sector, the volume of refugee arrivals and inflation have led the U.S. to invest public dollars in the private sector resettlement effort and to ask state governments to manage cash assistance, medical assistance, and social service programs. Without both of these sectors participating in the domestic resettlement program, the U.S. could not have resettled successfully all the refugees we have accepted since 1975. But much more cooperation is needed; it will not occur by accident.

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Two years is not a long time to experience the full effect of legislative provision. However, as implementation of the Refugee Act continues and is subject to modifications, we offer the following recommendations:

- The numerical ceilings for refugee admissions need to be made more flexible. This could be accomplished by: setting a realistic number by ethnic group for the year, and maintaining a small additional pool, to be allocated as required by international situations; or by setting aside a small number of openings for "special humanitarian cases," as the Australians do. This category could also provide for the numbers of refugees from sensitive regions of the world.
- Congress should insist that the administration comply with the terms of the Refugee Act, and initiate more rigorous analysis of the socioeconomic impact of refugees on local communities, especially in areas of high concentration. Federal support to ease the financial burden on local communities obviously must follow.
- ORR, in cooperation with the coordinator's office, must consult more openly and consistently with states. Only this will ensure that the views of local communities are reflected on the issues of impact, projected refugee flows, the allocation of social service dollars, and the lessons already learned from policy studies and experience in these areas. This information should be a primary element of the annual HHS report to Congress, and future domestic planning.
- In FY 83 the State Department's Bureau for Refugee Programs and ORR should begin by making a priority of building greater cooperation between the resettlement agencies and the ten states with the greatest numbers of refugees. The goal should be to aid state governments and voluntary resettlement agencies in targeting both public and private sector resources to overcome the barriers to refugee self-sufficiency. The result should be a coherent plan addressing present clients' needs, planning for anticipated arrivals in FY 83, and a specific set of services to be provided both during the reception and placement phase and in cooperation with state-administered cash assistance, medical assistance, and social service programs.
- To maintain the long-term capability of the U.S. to receive refugees, the federal government must honor the principle of full federal reimbursement to states and localities for costs incurred for assistance to refugees during their initial 36 months here. Federally supported assistance must include orientation, English language training, employment services, and ethnic community development programs.
- Our experience argues for the U.S. resettlement system to continue to utilize both the public and private sectors. In periods of lower refugee flows, it may be possible for voluntary agencies to handle the bulk of resettlement work without major public involvement. However, as communities become seriously affected, as the number of refugees rises and remains high, and as entering refugees face formidable economic and cultural barriers, public programs are needed as well. Cooperative management of both components will be critical to a successful resettlement effort over time.
- Decisions about the management and funding of resettlement must be raised to the highest policy levels by the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs in cooperation with the Congress. This will help avoid the poor decisions which have been made in the past two years.
- Recent proposals regarding alternative ways of providing support systems over time should be tested. These include "front-loading" English language training, orientation, and employment programs in order to achieve employment sooner; separating eligibility for cash and medical assistance; and involving communities more directly in resettlement planning for admissions and support.

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The congressional consultation process has been a vital improvement in the planning and management of the admission part of the system. We need to ensure that this process remains thorough and comprehensive and that it establishes admissions levels but is not inflexible. Progress on the international aspects however, may be at risk if administrative and congressional inattention to critical aspects of the domestic program continues.

Most observers recognize that the congressional consultation process has brought order, coherence, and accountability where previously these were lacking.

The greater challenges in planning and management at present are in the domestic program. We need to ensure local involvement as assistance programs are targeted, and public and private voluntary programs at all levels need to be coordinated and integrated to respond to the need for varying levels of action at different times.

A system which incorporates public and private, domestic and international considerations is vital to refugee programs. We will need such a system again and again in this era of the refugee when our international response ultimately relies on our ability to resettle some refugees in American communities, and when our domestic response is so closely allied to world affairs.

Ahead for the U.S.—The Asylum Debate

Joseph Cerquone

A dictionary definition of asylum is "an inviolable place of refuge or sanctuary." For the world's asylum seekers, the U.S. has been one such place. The image of an oppressed person arriving, claiming to have been persecuted, and being allowed to stay, is as much a part of this nation's sense of itself as is the belief that America is the land of the free.

The U.S. has faced floods of immigrants, many fleeing religious or political or racial persecution, throughout its history. In recent years, the numbers seeking entry to this country under the terms of political asylum have aroused consternation among policymakers and the public. The legal systems set up to review individuals' claims and determine their merit have been challenged, strained, and overcome—most notably by the arrival of more than 150,000 Cubans and Haitians on U.S. shores in the past two years.

According to Secretary of State Alexander Haig, similar situations may be in store unless conditions changes dramatically in Latin American countries. Future flows of persons headed for the U.S. could make the Cuban boatlift look like "child's play," Haig told the nation's governors in early 1982. In a report he delivered on the connection between human rights violations and movements of refugees, Sadruddin Aga Khan, the former UN high commissioner for refugees, too, recently warned that mass exodus is becoming a tragically permanent feature of our times.

The legal systems set up to review individuals' asylum claims have been challenged, strained, and overcome.

To ease and perhaps prevent such flows to the U.S. from taking place, a number of steps are being contemplated, discussed, and taken regarding U.S. asylum policy. The steps focus around the U.S. approach to individual claims as well as how to deal with asylum applicants on a mass scale, and they are bringing into consideration questions not only about the mechanics of the U.S. asylum process but also its fairness.

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To be granted asylum in the U.S., an individual must have been driven from his homeland by the same conditions as those spurring individuals who apply for refugee status in this country—persecution or fear of persecution. Such are the provisions of the Refugee Act of 1980, which allows the first statutory basis for granting asylum. Unlike the applicant for refugee status, who files from outside the U.S., the asylum claimant is at or within U.S. borders. Also, unlike persons who apply for refugee status, those asking for asylum do not have to fit under a numerical ceiling; there is no legal limit to the number of asylees the U.S. can accept.

Two federal departments are central to the determination of asylum claims: the Immigration and Naturalization Service, which grants asylum status; and the State Department, which advises INS on whether conditions in claimants' home countries warrant approval of the applications.

Asylum claims are reviewed on a case-by-case basis and for this reason, some observers assert, the system is jammed: this past spring, 100,000 asylum claims were pending. Aside from the 35,000 claims filed by Cubans who arrived with the 1980 Mariel boatlift, large numbers of Iranians, Nicaraguans, Salvadorans, Haitians, and Poles also filed claims recently. The accelerated volume (between 1978 and 1980, in contrast, only 9,500 claims were filed) could only exacerbate massive delays in the process of determinations: one congressman has described the tie-up as "the gridlock of the legal system."

Keys for unlocking the system have been proposed by the Reagan administration, and subsequently by Congress. Last October, President Reagan sent proposals to Congress designed to expedite the process of hearings by which claims are made and denials contested. The Omnibus Immigration Act proposes that decisions of asylum officers who hear claims would be final—no appeal to a higher legal authority would be permitted.

The current backlog would be stemmed and mass exodus to the U.S. discouraged through two other means proposed by the administration: interdiction—stopping boats on the high seas that are suspected of carrying undocumented aliens to American shores; and granting to the president special authority during an "immigration emergency," such as a boatlift. That authority would empower the nation's chief executive to impose emergency regulations to expedite the asylum process, establish holding centers for arrivals, and close ports-of-entry, among other actions.

A reform bill submitted to Congress in March by its immigration subcommittees' chairmen also proposes revisions for asylum procedures. One of the bill's architects, Sen. Alan K. Simpson of Wyoming, has made no secret of his frustration with a system he considers too complex. Simpson and co-architect Rep. Romano L. Mazzoli of Kentucky propose an adjudication procedure they consider more flexible and objective than the administration's, but it also omits review by the courts. Streamlining the process as they envision would eliminate procedural delays and hasten adjudication and thus, the congressmen maintain, eliminate the need for detention centers such as those where over 2,000 Haitians have been held during the winter of 1981-2.

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Flaws in the current system are not, according to some observers, the only or even the most serious problems inherent in U.S. asylum policy. Haitians are not detained because of procedures and paperwork, they claim, but because they have been unjustifiably labelled "economic migrants" rather than "political refugees." The same has been said of Salvadorans who have left their country recently—in FY 81 only two Salvadorans were granted asylum; another 154 claims were denied. This, critics say, despite expressions of humanitarian concern for people from this strife-torn country.

For those who support Haitian and Salvadoran and others' claims to asylum, the record of rejected claims is repugnant. They have soundly criticized politicization of the system by the State Department and the label economic migrant has been

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viewed as a simplistic expedient which the U.S. applies in order to protect certain foreign policy interests: in the case of the Haitians, those interests are support of the Duvalier regime; with the Salvadorans, it is the ruling government of El Salvador. The situation has prompted calls for the complete removal of the State Department from asylum determination.

Though critics of the administration concede that asylum procedures can be condensed and made more workable, they do not want due process and judicial review sacrificed for the sake of reform. "The courts have been a safeguard to the asylum process and have a history of overturning decisions by the INS," stated one former immigration official. The King decision in 1980, for example, required new hearings on rejected asylum claims and gave credence to the claims that Haitians are bona fide refugees seeking to escape repression. More recently a suit was filed in Los Angeles to stop the deportation of Salvadorans, on the grounds that individuals returned to El Salvador by the U.S. would be subject to persecution in part because they had left their homeland.

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The integrity of asylum proceedings has also come under attack on another front—that of interdiction on the high seas. The administration began interdiction last year and, indeed, the official count of Haitian arrivals has dropped. According to INS, 543 Haitians were known to have entered the U.S. illegally in December 1980. A year later, 46 reportedly came. The decline is cited as evidence that the administration goal of deterring flows through interdiction is working. The drop, suspect in light of reports that Haitians continue to arrive surreptiously, is likely welcome news to Florida officials who have contended with a steady stream of undocumented Haitians for years. But how, ask opponents of interdiction, can due process be applied on the open seas? And why is such effort going in to this particular enforcement effort while INS goes underfunded and Mexicans continue to enter the U.S. illegally in large numbers in search of work?

Interdiction is thought to have extreme and negative ramifications for U.S. standing in the world community, with the potential for long-term damage to its foreign relations.

One of the harshest critics of interdiction —the Congressional Black Caucus—charges that the policy is racist and directed against Black people. A number of others condemn interdiction from a broader view, calling it an artificial, short-run solution to deeply rooted, massive problems. It might prevent Haitians and others from landing temporarily but, they reason, it will not make them or those in similar situations disappear. As the world's resources tighten and strife within and between nations persists, oppressed groups such as Haitians will only increase.

Moreover, interdiction is thought to have extreme and negative ramifications for U.S. standing in the world community, with the potential for long-term damage to its foreign relations. One voluntary agency director used the example of the Indochinese boat crisis of 1979 to illustrate his concern in this regard. During that crisis, the U.S. persuaded Malaysia not to turn boats away. "If we (the U.S.) do not ask of ourselves what we ask of the Malaysians or many others," the director said, "there is never again a chance that another nation will listen to us in those circumstances."

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There have been numerous proposals to reform current asylum policy: group profiles for potential asylum applicants that would speed adjudications; special asylum officers to insure fairness; standards for defining persecution; mechanisms for allowing those who need to stay temporarily, such as persons fleeing war. Former High Commissioner for Refugees Sadruddin Aga Khan and others advocate the introduction of an early warning system, perhaps under UN supervision, that would gather information and report on potential mass asylum situations and alert the world community before the situations get out of control. Apparent in most of these suggestions is the recognition that it is the conditions that lead to flows of migrants, not the flows themselves, that should be targeted for international redress.

Partly because of problems associated with the boatlift, the public appears somewhat less well disposed to those seeking asylum than previously.

Most of the proposals that have been discussed can be legislated. What cannot be enacted into law is public opinion, and this, at present, is not favorable. Partly because of problems associated with the Cuban-Haitian boatlift, the public appears somewhat less well disposed to those seeking asylum than previously. The public has reason for concern. About 110,000 Cubans arrived during the first two-and-one-half months of the boatlift. Problems associated with their resettlement have gained wide publicity and have fed unflattering perceptions of all migrant groups.

Statistics from Florida officials are chilling: $6 million in costs for one Dade County hospital a year after the boatlift ended; 25,000 people on the county's waiting list for public housing. A State Department official who tracks public opinion in the U.S. refers unspecifically to polls indicating that the public is negative about refugees and similar groups; testimony on Capitol Hill says that refugees are coming to the U.S. who would rather receive welfare than work.

Yet some contend that even a situation as difficult as the 1980 boatlift would have been acceptable to Americans if the rest of the U.S. immigration picture, with its continual flows of illegal aliens, was in order. For example, Michael Posner of the Lawyers Committee for Humanitarian Affairs noted in March, "[Asylum applicants] are victims of a broader problem that they have been pulled into."

It is unlikely that even with reforms, treatment of asylum seekers will be as severe as the administration proposes. The Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1982—the Simpson/Mazzoli measure that is "the most politically operative bill," in the opinion of a liberal Capitol Hill observer—does not contain some of the more draconian measures that have been put forth by the Reagan administration. It provides for appeal, for example, and absent are provisions for interdiction and special presidential emergency powers.

However, Congress may be reluctant to tackle an issue as politically explosive as immigration during an election year.

This, while Haitians continue to be detained, Salvadorans deported, the economic migrant/political refugee debate drags on, and costs to impacted states mount. This, while hundreds seeking asylum literally arrive on the doorsteps of our nation and other nations, impossible to ignore.

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The U.S. can never take in the millions upon millions of the world's persecuted; it has never been asked to, and is not being asked to now. A way has to be found, however, to establish and work within limits. As policies are developed by U.S. lawmakers to take some in and turn others away, words different from the open invitation inscribed on the Statue of Liberty come to mind. "Before I built a wall," poet Robert Frost wrote about neighborly relations, "I'd ask to know what I was walling in or walling out, and to whom I was like to give offense." ☐

Solutions for refugees from Caribbean nations are still needed. UNHCR.

Future Developments

U.S. refugee admissions are declining. For the first six months of the government's current fiscal year, about 50,000 refugees—most of them Indochinese—arrived. That number is less than half of the annual ceiling of 140,000 established by Congress. Last year, when the annual ceiling was 217,000, about 160,000 entered the U.S., most of them, again, Indochinese.

Just as there are fewer refugees, there will be fewer federal dollars for refugee programs. Foreign and domestic spending on such programs will be about a quarter of a billion dollars less over the next year. In adjusting to the funding cutbacks, government officials are calling for increased international cooperation to solve refugee problems and greater private sector involvement in domestic resettlement. Domestically, the effect of tighter restrictions on cash and medical assistance available to refugees is expected to take hold in 1983, as well as funding cutbacks in other social programs. The U.S. intends to implement a policy of placing some refugees away from communities which have received disproportionate numbers of refugees in recent years.

The Refugee Act of 1980, the law that is the basis of U.S. procedure toward refugees, expires at the end of the 1982 fiscal year. Greater congressional and local control over refugee policy, a clear definition of persecution, and adjustment in asylum procedures have been discussed in conjunction with the act's reauthorization hearings, as well as congressional hearings on other immigration bills.

These changes will be taking place as refugee problems worldwide continue to be of great concern. Then Secretary General of the UN Kurt Waldheim called refugee problems "one of humanity's most pressing responsibilities," and said the award of the 1981 Nobel prize to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees drew attention to the plight of nearly 10 million persons who through no fault of their own are uprooted from their homes and must be helped by the world community.

Mass Asylum: The USCR Position

Beginning on April 21, 1980, the U.S. experienced its first major episode of what is termed "mass asylum." On that date the first of what eventually became 130,000 Cubans exited the port of Mariel to migrate to the U.S. The influx was difficult to accommodate and its aftermath continues to cause concern. The USCR is particularly concerned that the Mariel boatlift may have distorted the concept of "refugee" and caused the American people to be less willing to respond to the needs of those who legitimately seek asylum and refuge.

On July 31, 1981, USCR Executive Director Wells C. Klein was asked to provide testimony on mass asylum at a hearing of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Policy. Excerpts of that testimony are set forth here in the hope that Americans will come to understand the Mariel experience in the context of the nation's international leadership role in human rights and refugee issues.

...Our appearance before the subcommittee stems from a very specific concern of USCR, namely, that the manner in which the U.S. responds to the difficult public policy issue of mass asylum will directly and immediately affect our nation's leadership role with respect to fundamental issues of refugee asylum at an international level. The policy we adopt will confirm or compromise our historical leadership and moral authority in the field of human rights and, most specifically, refugee acceptance and assistance. The world is, in fact, closely watching how we handle this issue.

We must be forthright. We know the policy decisions that result from these deliberations will not please everybody. The issue is complex and not amenable to easy resolutions simply on the basis of good will.

Public attitudes on imigration currently run deep, largely because of the Mariel boatlift of 1980. The nation felt violated and, indeed, was. Mariel introduced a new migration phenomenon to America—one that other nations have experienced before, but not the U.S.—which we call "mass asylum." Our current immigration policy has not anticipated mass arrival on our shores: current refugee admission policy is based on the assumption that, by and large, screening will occur in a country of first asylum and that those we choose to admit will arrive through an orderly process.

The experiences of the recent past demand that our government articulate a clear policy with respect to mass asylum situations...(and that) three fundamental principles guide that policy.

First, the U.S. must have control, and must appear to have control, of the flow of people permanently entering into this society. We have neither at present. This failure prejudices the constructive expression of the inherent reservoir of good will within the American public to respond positively to genuine refugee emergencies. While we might ideally wish to see the free movement of people across all national boundaries, we do not yet live in the best of all possible worlds.

Second, our mass asylum policy—the result of these deliberations—must be consistent with what we ask of other nations in similar circumstances. Such consistency is fundamental to our continuing role of leadership in the free world.

Finally, we must fully observe the fundamental tenets of due process in the way in which we deal with the varying circumstances of asylum seekers...

A policy that does not provide for due process for individual as well as group asylum seekers will be consistently and repeatedly challenged in our courts, thus tying up our whole system as has occurred in the past with respect to Haitians. Due process is, therefore, a prerequisite for a workable policy...

In our view a mass asylum situation exists when a large number of asylum seekers arrive on our shores in a constrained period of time resulting in a situation with which regular asylum processes are unable to cope. There are, however, two other asylum situations with which we must be concerned.

The first is that in which significant numbers of individuals already in the U.S. in nonimmigrant status are caught here by significant events, usually military, in their own countries. While application for political asylum may eventully be a viable alternative for some of these individuals, by and large, the majority are in need of temporary safe haven. This, we believe, can be easily accomplished, and without threat to our control of immigration, by extending to such individuals indefinite voluntary departure until such time as they are able to return home.

The second situation is that in which significant numbers of individuals seek to enter the U.S. as asylum seekers after transiting a third country, most obviously Mexico. In this situation we feel that the country to which they initially fled, be it Mexico or another, should be considered by the U.S. as the country of first asylum. Practically, and in terms of political realities, we may need to assist that country in the care and maintenance of these persons in first asylum status as we have done elsewhere, for example Thailand. But we should not confuse this situation with one of mass asylum as defined above.

The heart of the matter, however, is another Mariel or the Haitian asylum phenomenon that faces us today. We propose a mass asylum policy based on the following guidelines:

1. However uncomfortable the immediate implications, we must accept the obligations of being a country of first asylum. In practice this means we do not interdict at sea and we do not push boats off our shores.

2. In accepting our responsibility as a country of first asylum, we must reserve the right to detain asylum applicants or permit them temporary access to our society, either on a group-by-group or case-by-case basis, depending on what we deem to be in our best interests.

3. We must recognize there are far more people in the world, including applicants in a mass asylum situation, who meet our definition of refugee than this country can, or can be expected to, integrate into our society. It follows, therefore, that we must involve UNHCR in any mass asylum situation and internationalize our response to those legitimately seeking asylum on the basis of a well-founded fear of persecution.

4. It also follows that those who do not meet the test of a well-founded fear of persecution must be repatriated or otherwise relocated short of permanent admission to our society.

In conclusion, we would like to touch briefly on some implications of due process in a mass asylum situation. These are in addition to the normal safeguards currently embodied in the law and the intent of the law. First, if due process in a mass asylum situation is to be a reality both for the asylum applicant and ourselves as a nation, adjudications must be handled with reasonable speed. We endorse the concept of group profiles for purposes of establishing a well-founded fear of persecution. We do not endorse the concept of group profiles as the basis for rejecting asylum applications. Rejections must be handled on a case-by-case basis no matter how inefficient this may be.

Second, we feel that the implications for individuals in the rejection of asylum applciations are far too great to permit the decision to be made by one individual or one body. There must be an appeal or review mechanism separate from the original adjudication. Every effort should be made to make this a fair and impartial process that strives to give the applicant every reasonable benefit of doubt. We do not, however, believe the appeal or review process should go on ad infinitum, keeping the applicant in limbo and tying up our adjudication system.

Finally, we must realize that many asylum applicants may have no familiarity with our language, customs, or laws, and therefore, must have the right to representation in the adjudication and particularly in the appeal process.

Our nation cannot allow the ineffective, confused government response that occurred during the Mariel exodus to occur again. We believe a clearly enunciated policy with rapid implementation in a mass asylum emergency will deter those who fall outside our policy from coming. We believe that clarity of authority and responsibility within the context of the principles and guidelines we have enumerated will foster a continued willingness on the part of the American public to respond positively to the legitimate needs of those seeking asylum. And that is what we are after.

Concern on the Situation of Asylum Seekers in Europe

In early 1982, a seminar on the problems of asylum seekers in Europe was held in Zeist, The Netherlands. Representatives of 30 voluntary agencies from ten countries attended, as well as representatives of UNHCR and the Council of Europe.

While exchanging views and information on the wide range of problems confronting refugees when they first arrive in a country of potential asylum, the seminar made a number of recommendations which are for the most part clearly in line with the recommendation on the harmonization of national procedures relating to asylum adopted by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe in November 1981.

1. ***Particular emphasis was placed on the need for a fair and sympathetic hearing for asylum seekers at their point of arrival, as this is the place where abuses are most likely to occur. Every asylum seeker must be given a full interview to establish his motivation for attempting to enter the country, and must be offered the chance to contact a lawyer, representative of UNHCR, or a suitable voluntary agency. Particular difficulties may arise at certain major airports, and it is recommended that a voluntary agency specializing in asylum questions should be available at such airports. It was also recommended that border police, immigration officers, and other concerned officials always receive special training relating to the problems of asylum seekers and that voluntary agencies be invited to participate in such training.***
2. ***Serious concern was expressed about the situation in certain countries where an asylum seeker may be deported before a final decision has been taken on the asylum request, simply because the authorities believe that his appeal is unlikely to succeed. This practice contravenes the recommendation of the Council of Europe.***
3. ***In certain European states no consideration is given to asylum requests from people from certain countries, because people from these countries are presumed not to be subject to persecution. The seminar insisted that all requests by given individual consideration.***
4. ***The seminar noted with concern that, in certain European countries, detention of asylum seekers is increasing. It was strongly stressed that asylum seekers should not be placed in detention otherwise than in exceptional circumstances, and that in such cases those detained must immediately be allowed to make outside contacts and to challenge the lawfulness of the detention in a court. The seminar believed that concepts of "public order" and "national security" were frequently too loosely interpreted as a pretext for detaining asylum seekers. It was noted that certain European countries only very rarely found it necessary to hold asylum seekers in detention. Grave concern was expressed at reports of the detention of children in European states. It was felt that children should not be detained in any circumstances.***
5. ***The seminar agreed to ask the European Consultation to draw up a list of specialists throughout Europe, who would be willing to provide expert opinion on questions relating to asylum.***
6. ***The seminar strongly recommended that all European governments process asylum applications in the shortest possible time taking into consideration humanitarian factors while safeguarding legal guarantees. It also recommended that asylum seekers should have no restrictions on their right to work.***

The seminar concluded by stressing that close cooperation between specialized voluntary agencies, and national and international authorities to ensure clear adherence to the internationally accepted guidelines relating to asylum requests will help to reduce the likelihood of abuses occurring at the local level.

From the report on the Seminars on the Problems of
Asylum Seekers, January 1982.

Directory of Organizations

International Organizations

Intergovernmental Committee for Migration (ICM), P.O. Box 100, CH-1211 Geneva 19, Switzerland. Director: James Carlin. Representatives: New York—Richard Scott, 60 East 42nd St., Suite 2122, New York, NY 10165. (212) 599-0440; California—William Anderson, Building 500, Rm. 42, Hamilton AFB, CA 94934. (415) 883-0561; Washington, DC—Gretchen S. Brainerd, 1346 Connecticut Ave., NW, Suite 711, Washington, DC 20036. (202) 785-1909.

Established in 1951, arranges for processing and transportation of European, African, Latin American, and Indochinese refugees to immigration countries in cooperation with international organizations, governmental and non-governmental agencies concerned with refugees. Implementing programs of transfer of technology to developing countries.

International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), 17 Avenue de la Paix, CH-1211 Geneva, Switzerland.

Private Swiss organization that protects and helps civilian and military victims of armed conflicts worldwide. Includes medical aid, relief supplies, a tracing agency for missing persons, and a program of visitors to prisoners of war and civilian internees.

International Council of Voluntary Agencies (ICVA), 13 Rue Gautier, 1201 Geneva, Switzerland, 31 66 02 (Cable: VOLAG [Geneva], Telex: 22891 icva ch.). Executive Director: Anthony Kozlowski.

Independent and neutral international association of voluntary agencies established in 1962 as a permanent liaison structure for consultation and cooperation. Presently composed of 60 international and national voluntary agencies.

International Disaster Institute, 85 Marylebone High St., London W1M 3DE. Director: Dr. Frances D'Souza.

Researches all aspects of disaster, including refugee communities; runs briefing and training courses for field staff and acts as an information center. Also publishes a quarterly journal on disaster-related topics and is setting up a famine research unit in association with the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

League of Red Cross Societies, 17 Chemin de Crets, P.O. Box 276, 1211 Geneva 19, Switzerland. 60 E 42nd St., Suite 1438, New York, NY 10017. New York office: (212) 661-5714. Secretary-General: Hans Hoegh.

Coordinates Red Cross emergency assistance to refugees and displaced persons.

Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), Palais des Nations, 1211 Geneva 10, Switzerland. High Commissioner: Poul Hartling. Regional Office: UN Bldg., 3rd fl., New York, NY 10017. (212) 754-7600. Liaison Office: UNHCR, 1785 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20036. (202) 387-8546.

Established in 1951 to provide international protection to refugees who fall within the scope of its statute; and to seek permanent solutions for the problem of refugees. Also coordinates assistance programs for displaced persons in accordance with various subsequent General Assembly resolutions. Representation in some 80 countries.

United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 866 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017. (212) 754-1234. Executive Director: James Grant.

Since 1946 has cooperated with developing countries in providing child assistance programs involving nutrition, primary health care, water and sanitation, and education. Provides humanitarian assistance to emergency victims of natural and man-made disasters.

United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA), Vienna International Centre, Box 700, A1400 Vienna, Austria. Commissioner-General: Olof Rydbeck. New York Liaison Office: John Miles, UN Bldg., Rm. 937, New York, NY 10017. (212) 754-4214.

Since 1950 has provided assistance to eligible Palestinian refugees, now numbering some 1.9 million, in Lebanon, Jordan, Syria, and the occupied territories of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. Offers basic health and relief services and education services to children up to the lower secondary level.

U.S. Government Offices

Department of State, Bureau for Refugee Programs, Room 7532, 2201 C St. NW, Washington, DC 20520. (202) 632-5230. Director: Ambassador Richard D. Vine.

Formulates policy and plans for U.S. refugee and migration programs; acts as clearinghouse for information on refugee affairs.

Department of Education, Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs, Refugee Children Assistance Staff, Reporters Building, 400 Maryland Ave. SW, Room 505, Washington, DC 20202. (202) 472-3520. Branch Chief: James Lockhart.

Administers federal grants to states and private nonprofit organizations for educational services to refugee and entrant children in public and private (nonprofit) local schools.

Department of Health and Human Services, Office of Refugee Resettlement, 330 C St. SW, Room 1229, Washington, DC 20201. (202) 245-0418. Director: Philip Hawkes.

Provides assistance to refugees after initial placement in U.S. communities with federal funding through existing federal programs which are administered by states.

Department of Justice, Immigration and Naturalization Service, 425 Eye St. NW, Washington, DC 20530. (202) 633-2000. Commissioner: Alan C. Nelson.

Administers immigration and naturalization laws relating to the admission, exclusion, deportation, and naturalization of aliens.

House Judiciary Committee, 2137 Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, DC 20515. (202) 225-3951. Chairman: Peter W. Rodino, Jr. Subcommittee on Immigration, Refugees, and International Law Chairman: Romano L. Mazzoli.

Studies and makes recommendations on immigration and naturalization, citizenship, admission of refugees, treaties and international agreements, and other appropriate matters.

Office of the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs, Department of State, (S/R) Rm. 7526, 2201 C St. NW, Washington, DC 20520. (202) 632-3964. Coordinator: Ambassador H. Eugene Douglas.

Responsible for overall coordination of U.S. refugee policy; represents U.S. interests to other governments and international organizations concerning refugee issues; provides for liaison between federal government, resettlement agencies, and state and local public agencies.

Senate Judiciary Committee, 2226 Dirksen Senate Office Bldg., Washington, DC 20510. (202) 224-5225. Chairman: Strom Thurmond. Subcommittee on Immigration and Refugee Policy Chairman: Alan K. Simpson.

Studies and makes recommendations on the problems of refugees; has jurisdiction over immigration and naturalization legislation.

U.S. Resettlement Agencies

Following are selected U.S. voluntary agencies that participate in programs to resettle refugees. Readers may contact such agencies for information on sponsorship.

American Council for Nationalities Service, 20 W. 40th St., New York, NY 10018. (212) 398-9142. Executive Director: Wells C. Klein.

With its member agencies, assists immigrants, refugees, and the foreign-born in adjusting to American society, and works for the acceptance of all citizens as equal participants in American life. Since 1975, actively engaged in the resettlement of refugees from Indochina, Cuba, Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, and other African countries.

American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees, 1790 Broadway, Room 710, New York, NY 10019. (212) 265-1919. President: Dr. Jan Papanek.

Organized in 1948 to help resettle Czechoslovakian and Central and Eastern European refugees. Since 1975, AFCR has been participating in the resettlement of Indochinese refugees.

Buddhist Council for Refugee Rescue and Resettlement, City of 10,000 Buddhas, Box 217, Talmage, CA 95481. (707) 468-9155. Executive Director: Bhikshu Heng Ch'i.

Composed of Buddhist organizations and Asian-American civic associations in the U.S. Resettles Indochinese refugees and operates an English language and acculturation training program for newly arrived refugees.

Church World Service, 475 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10115. (212) 870-2164. Executive Director: Paul F. McCleary.

Relief and development arm of the National Council of Churches. Assists refugees in their own country as well as countries of first asylum and works closely with regional ecumenical colleague agencies, including the World Council of Churches.

Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society, Inc. (HIAS), 200 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10003. (212) 674-6800. Executive Vice President: Leonard Seidenman.

The refugee and migration agency of the organized American Jewish community. Assists Jewish refugees and migrants from Eastern Europe, Middle East, North Africa, and elsewhere. Also assists Indochinese, Ethiopian, Afghan, and other non-Jewish refugees through programs in cooperation with the U.S. government. Global network of offices and affiliated organizations in 47 countries on six continents. Provides for pre-migration planning, visa documentation, reception, transport, etc.

International Rescue Committee, 386 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10016. (212) 679-0010. Executive Director: Charles Sternberg.

Nonsectarian, nonpartisan voluntary agency providing relief and resettlement services for refugees and displaced victims of war.

Lutheran Immigration and Refugee Service/ Lutheran Council in the U.S.A., 360 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10010. (212) 532-6350. Director: Ingrid Walter.

Provides immigration and resettlement assistance to refugees on behalf of cooperating Lutheran churches in the U.S.

Migration and Refugee Services (MRS): United States Catholic Conference, 1312 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20005. (202) 659-6618. Executive Director: John McCarthy.

Responsible for all immigrant, migrant, and refugee activities conducted at the national level by the Catholic Church of the U.S. Coordinates with agencies in public and private sectors in resettlement and assimilation of individuals and families in American society.

Presiding Bishop's Fund for World Relief: Episcopal Church Center, 815 Second Ave., New York, NY 10017. (212) 687-9454 or 55. Executive Director: Reverend Samir J. Habiby.

Official channel through which the Episcopal Church responds to human need around the world, providing funding for Episcopal, Anglican, and ecumenical projects in rehabilitation, development, and refugee migration. Conducts a program for refugee resettlement in the U.S. through Episcopal dioceses.

Rav Tov, 125 Heyward St., Brooklyn, NY 11206. (212) 875-8300. Executive Director: Rabbi David Niederman.

Founded in 1973. Through its network of offices in Europe, has assisted in the registration and resettlement processing of thousands of refugees from the USSR and Eastern European countries and persons fleeing persecution in Middle and Near Eastern countries. Provides a full range of services to refugees in their country of resettlement, including housing, medical care, ESL training, employment counseling, and maintenance assistance.

Tolstoy Foundation, Inc., 250 W 57th St., Suite 1101, New York, NY 10107-0144. (212) 247-2922. Executive Director: Teymuraz Bagration.

Founded in 1939 to assist Russian refugees. Scope has broadened to assist other refugees. Has a cultural center and field and regional offices in the U.S., operational offices in Europe and Latin America, and correspondents in the Middle East.

World Relief Corporation/Refugee Services Division: National Association of Evangelicals, P.O. Box WRC, Nyack, NY 10960. (914) 268-4135. Associate Executive Director: Donald Bjork.

Assists churches, community groups, families and individuals who wish to sponsor Indochinese, Afghan, African, and Eastern European refugees, as well as Cuban and Haitian entrants.

YMCA Refugee Resettlement Services, 101 N. Wacker Dr., Chicago, IL 60606. Director: Boris Kazimiroff. New York Office: 291 Broadway, New York, NY 10007. (212) 374-2285. Associate Director: Ray E. Day.

Directs national YMCA services for refugees. Acts as liaison for local YMCAs, cooperates with other national voluntary agencies and appropriate government agencies.

U.S. Aid and Information Organizations

Following are selected U.S. voluntary agencies and human rights organizations that provide assistance to or information about refugees.

Afghan Community in America, 139-15 95th Ave., Jamaica, NY 11435. (212) 658-3737. Chairman: Habib Mayar.

Provides non-military assistance to those made needy by the present war in Afghanistan. Solicits contributions and gifts of any kind.

Afghanistan Relief Committee, Inc., 345 Park Ave., Suite 4100, New York, NY 10154. (212) 355-2931. President: Gordon A. Thomas.

Provides charitable, educational, humanitarian, and benevolent assistance to the people of Afghanistan wherever they are located, either directly or through organizations with similar purposes. Solicits funds and in-kind donations.

Africare, Inc., 1601 Connecticut Ave. NW, Rm. 600, Washington, DC 20009. (202) 462-3614. Executive Director: C. Payne Lucas.

Carries out more than 30 development assistance projects in Africa, including providing hospital equipment and supplies in Somalia and support for a refugee settlement in Zambia.

Aid for Afghan Refugees (AFAR), 1052 Oak St., San Francisco, CA 94117. (415) 863-1450.

A group of Americans and Afghans organized to raise money for Afghan refugees in Pakistan, and to raise the awareness of Americans about the Afghan refugee situation.

The American Council for Judaism Philanthropic Fund, 386 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10016. (212) 684-1525. Executive Secretary: Mrs. Carolyn Kinsman.

Provides relief and resettlement services to Jewish refugees in Europe and the U.S. through programs administered by the International Rescue Committee.

American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc., 200 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10003. (212) 777-8210. Executive Director: Leon O. Marion.

Established in 1943 to provide a means for consultation, coordination, and planning to assure the maximum effective use of contributions of the American community for the assistance of people overseas. A committee on migration and refugee affairs coordinates plans and activities for refugee assistance at home and abroad.

American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102. (215) 241-7000. Executive Secretary: Asia Bennett.

A Quaker organization that provides food, shelter, and supplies, especially in response to needs created by war, disaster, and gross violations of human rights, where provision of relief may lead to constructive community development.

American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, Inc., 60 E 42nd St., New York, NY 10165. (212) 687-6200. President: Henry Taub.

Assists Jewish emigrants from Eastern Europe while in transit, including cultural and religious aid, and reconstruction aid.

American National Red Cross, 17th & D Sts. NW, Washington, DC 20006. (202) 737-8300.

Assists refugees in cooperation with other National Red Cross Societies, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the League of Red Cross Societies. Provides funds, supplies, and assistance of qualified specialized staff in refugee relief. Assists in reuniting refugees with their relatives in the U.S. by maintaining an international foreign location inquiry service.

American Near East Refugee Aid, 1522 K St. NW, Suite 202, Washington, DC 20005. (202) 347-2558. President: Dr. Peter Gubser.

Works to increase total assistance in cash and kind from Americans to Palestinian refugees and other needy individuals in the Arab world. Seeks to increase American understanding of the plight of the Palestinians. Efforts directed toward social and economic development in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

American ORT (Organization for Rehabilitation Through Training) Federation, 817 Broadway, New York, NY 10003. (212) 677-4400. Executive Vice President: Donald H. Klein.

Founded in 1922. Organizes and maintains programs providing vocational education and training for youth and adult Jewish transmigrants. Affiliated with the World ORT Union.

American Refugee Committee, 2110 Nicollet Ave., Suite 210, Minneapolis, MN 55404. (612) 872-7060. National Director: Stanley B. Breen.

Works with Indochinese refugees both in the U.S. and in refugee camps in Southeast Asia. Sends medical teams to refugee camps in Thailand. Participates in resettlement of Indochinese.

CARE, 660 First Ave., New York, NY 10016. (212) 686-3110. Executive Director: Dr. Philip Johnson.

In addition to regular feeding and self-help programs in 37 developing countries, aids refugees by providing emergency supplies and the means for reconstruction and rehabilitation. This includes food, medicine and medical supplies, seed, tools, water pumps, vocational training and materials, clothing, blankets, and cooking utensils.

Catholic Relief Services—USCC (CRS), 1011 First Ave., New York, NY 10022. (212) 838-4700. Executive Director: Most Rev. Edwin B. Broderick, D.D.

Founded in 1943 under the sponsorship of the Catholic Bishops of the United States. Cooperates with local social welfare agencies in over 75 countries to provide emergency and disaster relief, refugee resettlement, rehabilitation support for the disabled and infirm, and self-help development projects.

Citizens' Committee for Immigration Reform, 1828 L St. NW, Suite 1000, Washington, DC 20036. (202) 331-1759. Executive Director: Nina K. Solarz.

National, bi-partisan, educational organization of individuals dedicated to the reform of immigration and refugee policy. Publishes monthly newsletter and periodic reports and studies.

Direct Relief Foundation, 2801B De La Vina St., Santa Barbara, CA 93105. (805) 687-3694. Executive Director: Dennis Karche.

Receives and donates contributions of pharmaceuticals, medical supplies, and equipment to assist victims of natural and man-made disasters. Recruits, screens, and arranges overseas assignments for volunteer doctors, nurses, and related personnel in Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East.

Eritrean Relief Committee, Inc., P.O. Box 1180, Grand Central Station, New York, NY 10163. (212) 866-4293. Executive Secretary: Tecle-H Menghsteab.

Founded in 1976, aids Eritreans displaced as a result of war and natural disaster, with major focus on emergency and development project assistance through the Eritrean Relief Association, based in Sudan. Program of assistance includes funds and material aid for food, medicine, clothing, and the provision of education in food production and agriculture.

Freedom House, 20 W 40th St., New York, NY 10018. (212) 730-7744. Executive Director: Leonard R. Sussman.

Publishes a survey of freedom; distributes books to students in Asia, Africa, and Latin America; monitors compliance with the Helsinki Accords; publishes writing from individuals in countries where there is oppression; and has information and analysis programs in the Caribbean Basin, Afghanistan, Poland, and other countries.

Hadassah: The Women's Zionist Organization of America, Inc., 50 W 58th St., New York, NY 10019. (212) 355-7900. Executive Director: Aline Kaplan.

Maintains medical facilities, schools, and agricultural settlements, and encourages and supports medical education in Israel. Assists in immigration and resettlement in Israel of Jewish children and youth. Founded in 1912.

Holt International Children's Services, Inc., 1195 City View, Box 2880, Eugene, OR 97402. (503) 687-2202. Executive Director: David H. Kim.

Provides care for unaccompanied minors through its sister organization, Holt Sahathai Foundation, in one of the Khmer refugee holding centers in Thailand. Office in U.S. serves as a resource for sponsors and agencies involved in refugee resettlement.

Indochina Refugee Action Center (IRAC), 1424 16th St NW, Suite 404, Washington, DC 20036. (202) 667-7810. Director: Jesse Bunch.

Provides technical assistance to refugee self-help groups and community service providers, and information and program development services to persons and programs involved in resettlement.

International Social Service, American Branch, 291 Broadway, 11th Fl., New York, NY 10007. (212) 964-7550. Executive Director: Mary Jane Fales.

Part of a global network of professional services for individuals and families with problems related to intercountry movement or migration. Conducts research and provides training, consultation, and information on international concerns.

Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights, 36 W 44th St., New York, NY 10036. (212) 921-2160. Executive Director: Michael Posner.

Legal resource center for human rights activities. The Political Asylum Project provides legal representation for individual asylum applicants through the use of volunteer attorneys.

Lutheran World Relief, 360 Park Ave. S., New York, NY 10010. (212) 532-6350. Executive Director: Norman E. Barth.

Serves as the overseas development and relief agency on behalf of most U.S. Lutherans to assist with long-term and emergency help for people especially in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Refugee assistance is often channeled through programs of Lutheran World Federation. Aid to Somali refugees is provided through the Inter-Church Response for the Horn of Africa in partnership with Catholic Relief Services and Church World Service.

MAP International, 327 W. Gunderson Dr., Wheaton, IL 60187. (312) 653-6010. President: Larry E. Dixon.

Christian world health and development organization which provides supplies to hospitals and clinics in developing countries. Also provides training, consultation, and referral to church-related development agencies.

Mennonite Central Committee, 21 S. 12th St., Akron, PA 17501. (717) 859-1151. Executive Secretary: Reg Toews.

Cooperative relief and service agency for 17 Mennonite and Brethren in Christ groups. Provides material aid to refugees from man-made and natural disasters. Arranges resettlement for refugees in the U.S. and Canada.

Minority Rights Group, 36 Craven St., London WC2N 5NG, U.K. (01) 930-6659. Director: Ben Whitaker. New York Branch: Sue Nichterlein, 35 Claremount Ave., Suite 4S, New York, NY 10027. (212) 864-7986.

International human rights information and education body. Publishes reports on minority groups worldwide.

National Council for International Health, 2121 Virginia Ave. NW, Suite 303, Washington DC 20037. (202) 298-5901. Executive Director: Dr. Russell E. Morgan, Jr.

Promotes cooperation and encourages communication among the many individuals, agencies, and organizations, both public and private, working in international health. Facilitates the coordination of U.S. international health activities and refugee relief programs.

National Immigration, Refugee, and Citizenship Forum, 533 8th St. SE, Washington, DC 20003. (202) 544-0004. President: Rick Swartz.

Stimulates and coordinates policy-focused working relationships and information networks spanning the range of issues and interest groups involved in immigration, refugees, and related foreign policy. Comprised of more than 60 groups, the Forum adopts no position on policy questions.

Oxfam America, 115 Broadway, Boston, MA 02116. (617) 482-1211. Executive Director: Joe Short.

Funds small-scale agricultural and technical assistance projects in Asia, Africa, and Latin America designed to increase self-reliance and promote lasting economic and social development.

The Salvation Army World Service Office (SAWSO), 1025 Vermont Ave. NW, Washington, DC 20005. (202) 833-5646. Director: John W. Wiggins.

Provides relief and assistance within its capabilities to refugees anywhere in the world.

Save the Children Federation, 54 Wilton Rd., Westport, CT 06880. (203) 226-7272. President: David L. Guyer.

Provides humanitarian aid with emphasis on self-help refugee participation. Offers English as Second Language and cultural orientation programs in Indonesia and Thailand.

Spanish Refugee Aid, Inc., 80 E 11th St., Rm. 412, New York, NY 10003. (212) 674-7451. Director: Nancy Macdonald.

Founded in 1953 to aid refugees of the Spanish Civil War, 25,000 of whom remain in France. Provides economic and moral aid to the old and sick.

U.S. Committee for Refugees, 20 W 40th St., New York, NY 10018. (212) 398-9142. Executive Director: Weils C. Klein.

Program of the American Council for Nationalities Service involved in information and education activities on behalf of refugees worldwide. Participates actively as refugee advocate in development of U.S. public policy with respect to refugees in U.S. and abroad. Supports UN specialized agencies working to alleviate world refugee problems.

U.S. Committee for Somali Refugee Relief, Inc., 1900 L St. NW, Suite 707, Washington, DC 20036. (202) 833-9542. Director: Martin R. Ganzglass.

Formed in 1979. Major goals are to raise money to provide medicine and related medical supplies to refugees in Somalia, publicize the plight of refugees there, and bring about greater awareness that Somalia has the world's largest refugee population.

U.S. Committee for UNICEF, 331 E 38th St., New York, NY 10016. (212) 686-5522. President: James R. Sheffield.

Established in 1947; informs Americans about UNICEF's efforts to meet the needs of the developing world's children, and raises funds for UNICEF through greeting card sales, group fund-raising events, direct contributions, and special events.

United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America, Inc., 2558 W 69th St., Chicago, IL 60629. (312) 776-7582. President: Mary Rudis.

Non-sectarian organization founded in 1944. Provides refugee aid, immigrant assistance, educational aid, social welfare to the sick and needy.

World Vision International, 919 W Huntington Dr., Monrovia, CA 91016. (213) 357-7979. President: Dr. Stan Mooneyham.

Active in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, providing food, health care programs, medical supplies, and farming equipment.

For Further Information

Resource Centers

Center for Applied Linguistics 3520 Prospect St., NW, Washington, DC 20007. (202) 298-9292.

Offers refugee education guides, including a bibliography of teaching materials and dictionaries. Provides both language and cultural orientation information and assistance.

International Refugee Integration Resource Center (IRIRC) c/o International Council of Voluntary Agencies, 13 rue Gautier, 1201 Geneva, Switzerland.

International clearinghouse of information concerning resettlement and integration of refugees.

Refugee Materials Center, U.S. Department of Education 324 E. 11th St., 9th Floor, Kansas City, MO 64106. (816) 374-3976.

Provides bibliographies of educational and resettlement materials for refugees.

Refugee Resource Center of the Committee on Migration and Refugee Affairs, American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc. 200 Park Avenue South, Room 1703, New York, NY 10003. (212) 674-6844.

Provides information on refugee resettlement to the general public, interprets the role of the private sector in refugee resettlement; assists in developing communication networks between the voluntary agencies and other participants in the resettlement program; and facilitates coordination among the national resettlement agencies.

Technical Assistance Information Clearing House (TAICH), American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc. 200 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10003.

Serves as a center of information on the socioeconomic development programs abroad of U.S. nonprofit organizations, including voluntary agencies, church missions, and foundations. Issues publications and responds to inquiries.

Books, Reports, Bibliographies

Aga Khan, Sadruddin. *Study on Human Rights and Massive Exoduses.* December 31, 1981. United Nations Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human Rights, United Nations, NY 10017.

Bentz, Thomas. *New Immigrants: Portraits in Passage.* Preface by Theodore Hesburgh. Fall 1981. Personal stories of immigrants and refugees from many countries. Includes history of U.S. immigration policy from the 1820s to present. $7.95. Pilgrim Press, 132 W. 31st St., New York, NY 10001.

International Refugee Integration Resource Centre. *Refugee Abstracts.* Volume I, Number 1, March 1982. Abstracts of books, journals, and documents on the origins of refugees; the causes of exodus; asylum, resettlement, and integration questions. IRIRC, 13 rue Gautier, 1201 Geneva, Switzerland.

Interpreter Releases. Newsletter reporting on legislative, administrative, and judicial developments affecting aliens. Published 50 times a year. For subscription information contact: American Council for Nationalities Service, 20 West 40th St., New York, NY 10018.

North, David; Lewin, Lawrence; and Wagner, Robin. *Kaleidoscope, The Resettlement of Refugees in the U.S. by the Voluntary Agencies.* $8.00. New TransCentury Publications Division. 1789 Columbia Rd. NW, Washington, DC 20009.

Office of Refugee Resettlement, *Annual Report to Congress, 1981.* ORR/Department of Health and Human Services, Switzer Building, Room 1229, 330 C St. SW, Washington, DC 20201.

Office of Refugee Resettlement. *Refugee Resettlement in the United States: An Annotated Bibliography on the Adjustment of Cuban, Soviet, and Southeast Asian Refugees.* March 1981. ORR/Department of Health and Human Services, Switzer Building, Room 1229, 330 C St. SW, Washington, DC. 20201.

Directory of Organizations

Office of the U.S. Coordinator for Refugee Affairs. *Country Reports on the World Refugee Situation.* September 1981. Department of State, Washington, DC 20520.

Refugee Reports. Biweekly newsletter providing current information on U.S. policy and domestic developments regarding refugees. For subscription information contact: Refugee Reports Subscriptions, American Council for Nationalities Service, 20 West 40th St., New York, NY 10018.

Senate Committee on Foreign Relations and House Committee on Foreign Affairs. *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, 1981.* Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, DC 20402.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. *Information Material 1982.* Multipage tabloid listing films and printed and educational materials available from UNHCR. UNHCR Washington Liaison Office, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20036.

Cambodian girl in France. UNHCR.

Directories

Internet. *Human Rights North American Directory-1980.* Lists North American-based organizations engaged in international human rights work. $12.00 per copy for non-members of Internet, $6.00 per copy for members. *Human Rights Directory: Latin America, Africa, Asia.* Lists organizations in those areas engaged in civil and human rights work. $22.50 per copy for non-members, $11.25 for members. *European Human Rights Directory.* Describes human rights organizations based in western Europe, including international and all UN organizations. Contact Internet for current price information. Human Rights Internet, 1502 Ogden St. NW, Washington, DC 20010.

Technical Assistance Information Clearing House. *"U.S. Non-profit Organizations in Development Assistance Abroad-1978"* (supplements 1980, 1982). TAICH/American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, Inc., 200 Park Ave. South, New York, NY 10003.

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Further information about the world refugee situation may be obtained from:

U.S. Committee for Refugees, 20 West 40th St., New York, NY 10018

or from one of the following local agencies affiliated with the American Council for Nationalities Service:

ALBANY
Albany International Center
Wellington Hotel—Room 202
136 State Street
Albany, NY 12207

AKRON
International Institute
207 East Tallmadge Avenue
Akron, OH 44310

BINGHAMTON
American Civic Association
131 Front Street
Binghamton, NY 13905

BOSTON
International Institute of Boston
287 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, MA 02115

BRIDGEPORT
International Institute of Connecticut
480 East Washington Avenue
Bridgeport, CT 06608

BUFFALO
International Institute of Buffalo
864 Delaware Avenue
Buffalo, NY 14209

CHICAGO
Travelers and Immigrants Aid of Chicago
327 South LaSalle Street
Chicago, IL 60604

CINCINNATI
Traveler's Aid-Int'l. Inst. of Cincinnati
19 Garfield Place,
Suite 750
Cincinnati, OH 45202

CLEVELAND
The Nationalities Service Center
1001 Huron Road
Cleveland, OH 44115

DETROIT
International Institute of Met. Detroit
111 East Kirby Avenue
Detroit, MI 48020

ERIE
International Institute of Erie
457 East 6th St.
Erie, PA 16507

FLINT
International Institute
515 Stevens Street
Flint, MI 48502

FRESNO
Fresno Community Council
325 Crocker Bank Bldg.
Fresno, CA 93721

International Institute of Fresno
847 Waterman Street
Fresno, CA 93706

GARY
International Institute of Northwest
Indiana, Inc.
4433 Broadway
Gary, IN 46409

HONOLULU
Hawaii Refugee Resettlement Organization
(formerly VIVA-II)
100 N. Beretania Street, Room 201A
Honolulu, HI 96819

JERSEY CITY
International Institute of Jersey City
880 Bergen Avenue
Jersey City, NJ 07306

LAWRENCE
International Institute of Greater Lawrence Inc.
454 Canal Street
Lawrence, MA 01840

LOS ANGELES
International Institute of Los Angeles
435 South Boyle Avenue
Los Angeles, CA 90033

LOWELL
International Institute of Lowell
79 High Street
Lowell, MA 01852

MANCHESTER
International Center, Inc.
99 Hanover Street
Manchester, NH 03105

MIAMI
ACNS Field Office
121 S.E. First Street
Miami, FL 33131

MILWAUKEE
International Institute of Milwaukee County
2810 West Highland Boulevard
Milwaukee, WI 53208

OAKLAND
International Institute of East Bay
297 Lee Street
Oakland, CA 94610

PHILADELPHIA
Nationalities Service Center of Philadelphia
1300 Spruce Street
Philadelphia, PA 19107

PROVIDENCE
International Institute of Rhode Island, Inc.
421 Elmwood Avenue
Providence, RI 02907

ST. LOUIS
International Institute
3800 Park Avenue
St. Louis, MO 63110

ST. PAUL
International Institute of Minnesota
1694 Como Avenue
St. Paul, MN 55108

SAN FRANCISCO
International Institute of San Francisco
2209 Van Ness Avenue
San Francisco, CA 94109

SAN JOSE
ACNS Field Office
999 Newhall Street
San Jose, CA 95126

SANTA ROSA
Indochinese-American Council
576 "B" St.
Santa Rosa, CA 95401

TOLEDO
International Institute of Toledo
2040 Scottwood Avenue
Toledo, OH 43620

WASHINGTON, D.C.
Buddhist Congregational Church of America
Buddhist Social Charity Foundation
5401 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20011

YOUNGSTOWN
International Institute of Youngstown
661 Wick Avenue
Youngstown, OH 44502

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